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ABSTRACT

The task of this survey was to measure the relative scale of interest in Western European Studies in the United States. Doctoral dissertations and mainstream academic journals in political science, economics, anthropology, geography, sociology, and history were examined for topics dealing with Western Europe. In addition, programs and organizations on both campus and national levels which deal with Western Europe and Western European language training for nonlanguage specialists were analyzed. The assumption that the number of scholars in the United States whose interests and research deal primarily with Western Europe is considerably greater than those whose work focuses on other areas of the world proved to be wrong. Only in history did Western Europe continue to occupy a place of primary importance. This relative lack of interest represents efforts on the part of the educational system to heighten the international character of higher education. Suggestions and recommendations for increasing programs and research on Western Europe are provided. (Author/DE)

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WESTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Stephen Blank

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Pittsburgh, PA 15260

September 1974

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abstract

WESTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Stephen Blank

This is an examination of Western European Studies in the United States. It rests on analyses of research on Western Europe, based primarily on a survey of dissertation research on Western Europe in the social sciences carried on in the second half of the 1960s; of programs and organizations on both the campus and national levels which deal with Western Europe; of Western European language training for non-language specialists; and of library resources on Western Europe.

The examination reveals that, by the 1960s at least, the conventional wisdom about the relative scale of interest in and research on Western Europe in American higher education, particularly in the social sciences, had ceased to be accurate. Although the scope of "background" resources on Western Europe remained extensive throughout the educational system, research in the social sciences on Western Europe was being carried out on a scale not at all greater than that on other areas of the world. The data on research and programs clearly indicate that the "Eurocentric" character of American higher education has been sharply diluted.

Our study suggests that there has been a revival of interest in Western Europe among American scholars in recent years, particularly at the frontiers of research in the social sciences, but that the infrastructure which supports this renewed interest remains extremely fragile.

Preface

After a substantial period of time during which American social scientists directed their attention primarily to other parts of the world, interests in Western Europe began to enjoy a modest resurgence in the middle 1960s. Senior scholars who had worked in recent years in the non-Western areas of the world or had been concerned exclusively with the United States developed new research interests in Western Europe; more graduate students designed dissertation topics dealing with this area; and a number of institutions, designed to support scholarly interests in Western Europe, were created at this time.

At the end of 1969, a group of professors from several major universities with substantial interests in Western Europe met to discuss ways in which these and other institutions could more effectively coordinate the growing interests in Western Europe in order to improve the quality of research and training, avoid duplication of efforts, and promote collaboration with European scholars and institutions. These discussions led in the spring of 1970 to the formation of the Council for European Studies as a center of information and coordination which links several of the major campus Western European studies programs and other institutions and organizations in this country and in Europe which shared interests relating to the study of contemporary Western European society and politics.

Early in 1972, the Council for European Studies, in cooperation with the Institute of International Studies of the U. S. Office of Education, initiated a study to learn more about the revival of interest in Western European society and politics. The study was designed and directed by Stephen Blank, Executive Director of the Council for European Studies. Robin Jones, Arlene Apfel, and Linda Kroll all aided in the development of the project and undertook particular responsibility for the survey of dissertations and journal articles. The University Center for International Studies provided assistance throughout the project. Carl Beck, Director of the Center, and Richard Lambert gave encouragement and advice. Kendall Stanley prepared the final version of the report. Despite this array of support, there are bound to be mistakes, omissions and failures of critical judgement for which the author, alas, must take sole responsibility.

University of Pittsburgh

September, 1974

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

I

Liberal education in America, as in Europe, was organized traditionally around the study of the classics. Students were taught the languages, history and culture of Greece and Rome. In more recent times, modern European languages replaced Greek and Latin as the core content of higher education. Even as academic interests widened beyond these traditional subjects, however, European backgrounds and content remained substantial. The social sciences were heavily influenced by European scholars and interests, and much scholarly labor was directed to studying the differences between European and American political, economic, and social institutions and behavior. Europe was much less of an "international dimension" in higher education, than an integral part of a prevailing Western parochialism which saw little need to look at the wider world.

The Eurocentric character of American higher education persisted well into the World War II era. Courses on "world history" and on the "history of civilization", standard freshman fare, focused on European history and on the development of Western (that is, Western European) culture and civilization. Art, music and literature courses all relied heavily, if not exclusively, on Western sources, and undergraduates were normally required to acquire at least a minimum facility with a foreign language--inevitably a Western European langauge. The occasional course in religion, philosophy or history provided a rare view of the non-Western world. Thus, with little exaggeration, a liberal arts education might until quite recently be described--in more contemporary terms--as a Western European "area studies" program.

Scholarly research continued to be strongly influenced by traditional European interests and commitments. Even after World War II, "foreign" and "international" studies referred almost invariably to Western Europe and US-European relations, and frameworks of analysis throughout the social sciences continued to be developed in light of the familiar history and experience of Western Europe and North America.

These patterns of education, training, and research have changed enormously in the past generation, however. The great expansion of interest in the non-Western world which began in the years after 19[illegible] significantly altered patterns of international research in many fields (and particularly in the social sciences) and has had increasingly wide effects on training and education, not only at the graduate and undergraduate levels, but in elementary and secondary schools as well.

The nation's wartime experiences, the postwar formation of new nations in Africa and Asia, and the rise of the Cold War all contributed to an unheard of demand for expertise on those parts of the world which had scarcely been studied in the past, or had been studied only in terms of classic civilizations, cultures and languages. The American academic community was well-prepared to respond to these new demands. Many academics had spent their war in far-off places and were eager to deepen their knowledge of them at home. The pre-war experience of the crisis of Western democracy had encouraged interests not only in the new politics and society of authoritarian regimes, but in wider questions of social and political change and in the social forces rather than the legal rules which governed society and politics.[1] The post-war movement in the non-Western world represented not only a rejection

of the Eurocentric past, but, more positively, it demonstrated efforts to overcome institutional, legal and historical biases which had been associated with the European tradition.[2] The frontiers of research and the arenas of conceptual innovation shifted rapidly to the non-Western areas of the world.

This change in research perspectives was accompanied by efforts to coordinate the activities of scholars interested in these areas, to mobilize resources to support their investigations, and to train new cadres of students to take up their interests. Private foundations and, eventually, the federal government supplemented growing commitments of university funds to develop a new infrastructure of national and campus organizations. Thus was created what must be one of the most remarkable achievements in higher education in this country (outside the natural sciences, at any rate), "area studies."[3] These scholars who stressed interests in the non-Western world as a means of generating "genuine theoretical advances"[4] and those who labored here and in the field to create the ediface of area studies did not always sleep well together. Yet, between them, they have impressively altered the nature of research and training not only in the social sciences, but throughout the university.

The shift in research frontiers and the development of a new infrastructure to coordinate and consolidate the work of the researchers and to ensure the flow of trained younger specialists was quickly followed by a growing concern with the "diffusion" of area and international studies. That is, educators and scholars stressed the need to diffuse the impact of non-Western area studies throughout the educational system in order to overcome its basic Western parochialism. The development of an "international dimension"--which

meant studies having to do with the non-Western or developing areas of the world--would liberate schools and colleges "from their narrow preoccupation with Western civilization in order that less provincial and more competent citizens and leaders might be developed in the future."[5]

In the twenty years which followed the close of the Second World War, a series of parallel and reinforcing developments--which involved efforts which had now become of great national importance, the creation of new centers of expertise on these areas, a dramatic conceptual revolution in many fields of inquiry, and a growing determination to overcome what was now viewed as the traditional parochialism of American education--exerted a revolutionary force throughout the system of education in this country. It is not difficult to find fault with much of what was undertaken and accomplished in what now seems a long-ago time, particularly when the ground on which so much of this structure stands has now subsided so badly. But the value of the great expansion of non-Western interests and the creation of area studies scarcely needs to be defended. What we propose is not to criticize these developments, but to call attention to one result which is frequently overlooked--that is, the impact on academic interest and studies on Western Europe. In a notable article entitled, "New Horizons for Comparative Politics," Dankwart Rustow analyzed the growing interest in the non-Western world in Political Science. "Not long ago," he wrote, "Western man ruled the world; today he studies it." Rustow might have added, however, that there was danger that no one would now study Western man.

The impact of non-Western studies on more traditional European interests has differed significantly from discipline to discipline, and the nature of the impact has changed over time as the waves generated by the initial "revolution" have radiated out more or less slowly through the entire educational system. Interests in History on Western Europe, for example, have declined slowly as interests in the non-Western areas of the world have grown; in Political Science, the decline was far more precipitate. Universities, like other great bureaucracies, change slowly, but once the motion of change has been established, momentum builds enormously. The point is that there has been a continuing and substantial decline of interest in Western Europe throughout American colleges and universities since World War II--initially (and most severely) at the frontiers of social science research; then (with increasing severity) in the recruitment and training of graduate students; and (somewhat more slowly) throughout the entire liberal arts curriculum. New frontiers of research shifted away from Western Europe; resources were mobilized to support new research efforts and to train younger scholars to be specialists on the non-Western world. Existing resources followed new interests in the less known areas of the world and new resources--specifically, those created by the National Defense Education Act--specifically excluded Western Europe. As research was translated into books and articles and finally into texts, the content of training programs and courses changed, adapting to new materials and responding to new needs. The impact of non-Western interests was felt strongly outside of the social sciences. The apparatus of technical assistance created an entirely new dimension in many universities (although,

interestingly enough, not usually in those with strong area studies programs). More significantly in the longer run, the whole broad range of courses within the liberal arts curriculum soon ceased to rely upon traditional Western sources and became much more oriented to the non-Western world.

By the middle of the 1960s, however, there was evidence of a revival of interest in Western Europe centering, in particular, in certain sectors of the social sciences. Once again--as had been the case twenty years earlier--national needs for expertise were paralleled by changing patterns of conceptualization and analysis along the frontiers of research. One of the most interesting aspects of this part of our story is the deep ambivalence which was aroused in many senior scholars by efforts to create some sort of institutional base or framework to encourage and support these widening interests in Western Europe. Those scholars in Political Science or Sociology, for example, who work on Western European topics are far more likely than their colleagues with interests in the non-Western areas of the world to view themselves in "disciplinary-general" rather than "area" terms.[6]

From the very beginning, the development of European studies was fundamentally influenced by two different and, at least initially, opposing commitments. On the one hand, those scholars involved in research on Western Europe sought to imitate non-Western area studies insofar as this meant the mobilization of specifically designated funds, independent of normal departmental and university channels, to support research and training on Western Europe. Yet, on the other hand, they wanted to avoid creating

a new Western European "area studies" entity. These issues were bound up with other questions of whether there was--or should be--a "specialization" in European studies or who--if there were any--such specialists might be.[7] The dilemma was resolved, however, and the answer provided the structure for the rather unique character European studies has developed during the past five years. It was also an answer which, given the prevailing temper of the moment, contributed heavily to the success (or at least relative success) enjoyed by this enterprise.

Before looking in more detail at the revival of interest in Western Europe, it is useful to deal with the more basic question of its intellectual roots. Several reasons were particularly important in the reorientation of research interests back to Western Europe.

1. Recent political events

The reemergence of Western Europe as a major power, particularly in the world economy, the continued growth of the European Community in the early 1960s, and the emerging East-West detente all created demands for a larger pool of expertise on Western Europe in this country. As early as the mid-1960s, a number of scholars, government officials and foundation officers, all with interests in Western Europe, began to discuss ways of stimulating more research on Western European society and politics in American universities and increasing the number of graduate students developing expertise on the area. They shared the belief that Americans were becoming increasingly out of touch with developments in Western Europe, and that the gap of understanding between the two sides of the Atlantic was in danger of becoming insurmountable.

2. Europe offers the most important long-term case study of economic and political modernization and development

Many of the critical issues examined by American social scientists in the past decade have dealt with processes of modernization and development. Social scientists began to study the non-Western areas of the world in an effort to move beyond the descriptive approaches that had characterized research on Western Europe. They sought to apply more rigorous scientific standards to their work and to develop a general theory of political and social change. Increasingly, however, intellectual difficulties involved in the formulation of a general theory and the practical problems of inadequate data to support more rigorous approaches encouraged a notable "return to Europe" by scholars interested in processes of modernization and development. Theoretical and methodological innovations associated with the earlier movement away from Western Europe can be most effectively tested and expanded, it appeared, within the European context.[8] Furthermore, the availability of long-term longitudinal public records and an unparalled richness of social scientific and historical research, plus a rapidly expanding and increasingly sophisticated European social science community made Western Europe an especially attractive research site.

3. Europe provides the best laboratory for studying problems associated with the future development of advanced industrial societies.

To an increasing extent, the advanced industrial nations of Western Europe and North America are coming to share basic structural similarities as a consequence of economic, social, political, and technological develop-

ment. Numerous problems of national policy--the control of the economy, social welfare, the environment and energy--are common to many of these nations. Past experiences can best be systematically compared and evaluated, and future options explored and tested, in a context of the widest array of relevant national settings. Furthermore, many policy dilemmas of worldwide import--from population to pollution--demand collaborative study and problem solving among the countries of North America and Western Europe, which in many cases are the only ones in a position to propose and implement solutions.

Another, although somewhat different reason, also helped revive interest in Western Europe among American scholars:

4. The development of the European scholarly community

By the 1960s, the European scholarly community was expanding rapidly and becoming far more international in its interests--both within Europe and in the rest of the world. At the same time, the quality of European scholarship in certain areas, particularly in the social sciences, which had lagged behind American development, now appeared to equal much of the best in American social science. American scholars would continue to be able to offer much to their colleagues in Europe, especially in terms of modern social science methodology, but it was becoming clear that Europeans would have much to teach Americans as well. It could no longer be assumed that Europeans would continue to be passive followers and imitators of American techniques, or that communication between Americans and Europeans would continue to take place on American terms.

Renewed interest in Western Europe was expressed through several institutional settings. A number of new programs were established in the middle 1960s, mainly with financial support from the European and International Division of The Ford Foundation. A Western European division of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program was set up in 1964 to fund dissertation research in Western Europe. Western European studies programs were established at several major American universities between 1966 and 1970 and, in the spring of 1970, the Council for European Studies was formed as an information and coordination center.

Thus, from the middle 1960s, self-conscious efforts were made for the first time to bring together a variety of resources--financial, institutional and intellectual--to encourage greater interests, primarily among American social scientists, in contemporary Western European society and politics. The new FAFP program provided support for dissertation research in Western Europe , and the Council for European Studies initiated a number of programs to encourage graduate students to develop research interests on European topics, the most important of which was its Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Program which provided pre-dissertation field experience specifically for the purpose of developing and testing potential dissertation topics. CES, together with various campus European studies programs, explored ways of bringing more European scholars to the United States and jointly sponsored bibliographic and information projects. Substantially more resources were made available for research on and in Western Europe, although, increasingly, more traditional research interests on Western Europe were replaced by a new enthusiasm for more policy-oriented research

on "common problems" of advanced industrial societies. For the first time (and the only time until the Japanese followed suit), European resources supported American research and training efforts. Germany, in particular, made extensive contributions to institutions in the United States with interests in Western Europe, including CES and several campus programs. Most impressive of all, the German government, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, made available some 150 million Deutschmarks to establish a new foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, explicitly devoted to contributing "to the better understanding and resolution of significant, contemporary or emerging common problems of advanced societies."[9]

We were unable to utilize individual questionnaires as a source of data for the study, as Lambert and Rosenau had done in earlier surveys of area and international studies, because there was no way to determine a target population of "European specialists." There is no membership organization of "Europeanists". Indeed, we shall see that deep ambivalence regarding the notion of a European area specialization is a consistent characteristic of European studies in almost every discipline we examined.

Instead of individual questionnaires, other means were employed to develop a data base for this study. A series of visits were made by the principal investigator to campus European studies programs, and a library project was undertaken by Erwin Welsch, Social Studies Librarian of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin. Most importantly, in an attempt to develop some quantitative indicators of the level and content of interest in Western Europe among American scholars, two surveys were initiated--of completed dissertations and of mainstream journals.

We hoped that the survey of journals and dissertations would provide solid evidence of increased interest in Western Europe in several disciplines of the social sciences. Unfortunately, as we shall see in Chapter 2, our findings are not conclusive. In Political Science, where the impact of non-Western interests and, later, of Western European interests had been the strongest and most visible in terms of dissertation research, the number of dissertations completed on Western European topics increased substantially at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s. But, although the numerical increase was impressive (i.e., from 28 completed dissertations in 1967 to 41 in 1969 and 55 in 1971), the percentage of Western European dissertations, among all those written, remained stable. Of course, given the time involved in completing dissertations, the data which we collected for, say, 1971,

reflect choices of dissertation topics made by graduate students no later than 1965 or 1966. At this point, the "revival" had scarcely begun, and we should anticipate much greater numbers of dissertations in the next few years. In other disciplines in the social sciences, evidence of renewed interest on Western Europe--in terms of completed dissertations at any rate--is less evident. Still, it is clear that far more sociologists, economists and anthropologists, for example, are currently developing new interests in Western Europe, although it remains questionable whether these interests will in fact translate themselves into actual research. Obviously, given the much slower response rates in these disciplines to new, non-American interests and the lag-time for even dissertation research to emerge in complete forms, it is too early to tell how much new research on Western Europe there will be in, say, the next five years.

It must be emphasized, however, that, in any case, the extent of the revival of interest in Western Europe remains modest, especially when compared to the impact made by non-Western studies ten or fifteen years ago. Indeed, as we shall see below, the impact of non-Western interests on patterns of dissertation research was just reaching its peak by the end of the 1960s. No sense of national purpose, similar to that which motivated the post-Sputnik surge of support for training in the natural sciences or the early National Defense Act programs, has been associated with efforts to improve our understanding of contemporary Western European society and politics. Indeed, these efforts come precisely at a time when public interest in Europe is declining.

The institutions which have supported much of the recent scholarly activity on Western Europe are especially vulnerable. The

shortage of resources for international studies which began in the late 1960s has been immeasurably worsened as the general crisis of funding for higher education has grown more and more serious. Programs dealing with Western Europe, almost always the most recent creations, seem always to be the weakest. Between 1964 and 1971, the Ford Foundation was the sole source of funds for almost all of the new initiatives on Western Europe--the Western European program of the FAFP, the campus European studies programs, and the Council for European Studies. Western European programs were specifically excluded from the major source of external funds for campus area studies programs, NDEA Title VI. (To be accurate, one of the 102 NDEA Title VI programs was on Western Europe--the Northwestern European Language and Area Studies Program at the University of Minnesota.) NDEA restrictions were marginally relaxed with regard to programs dealing with Western Europe in the early 1970s, particularly in the new "problem or topic-oriented" programs in international studies at the graduate level. In 1973, a Western European Studies Center, sponsored jointly by Columbia University and the Graduate Center of City University of New York, was funded by NDEA Title VI in a new round of awards for international studies for centers. But federal funds were minimal and increasingly insecure, and by this time, the Ford Foundation had almost ceased to provide support for the programs, other than FAFP, which had been created earlier. The German Marshall Fund of the United States began operations in mid-1973. Early hopes that a major portion of the new Fund's resources would be devoted to strengthening European studies in this country were disappointed, however,

as other objectives were given a more prominent place in the organization's program. By the middle of 1974, much of the limited infrastructure of European studies which had come into existence during the past 10 years was in danger of collapse.

The extent of the revival of interest in Western Europe among American social scientists and the scale of the institutionalization of European studies was also modest when compared to the very large but very diffuse resources in our colleges and universities which bear upon Western Europe. These institutions possess an enormous and expensive apparatus of courses, programs and departments which are concerned in one way or another with Western Europe, including language and literature departments, history programs, and great library holdings. But most of these resources are so locked into existing structures and commitments that they are unable to support new interests and activities. Thus, the problem European studies has faced, in terms of the creation and mobilization of resources, differs from that which confronted the non-Western studies programs--to develop resources where none previously existed to support research and training on parts of the world that had been rarely or never studied in the past. For Western European studies, the problem has been rather one of concentration and coordination, of developing a more systematic approach to European studies through which existing resources can be more effectively utilized. It is surely open to doubt that this is a less difficult problem to solve than the creation of entirely new resources. One consistent theme which emerged throughout this study, therefore, was the imbalance between large but diffuse and immobile resources on Western Europe in our universities

and a very small quantity of resources which are mobile and flexible enough to support new scholarly interests and commitments on Western Europe.

Another and perhaps still more serious problem is rapidly approaching, however--the disintegration of this very capital structure. While attention has been focused primarily on discovering ways in which existing resources on Western Europe can be more effectively mobilized for newer purposes, we have tended not to see that the capital itself is rapidly eroding. The scholars who took the lead in developing new programs on Western Europe in the middle 1960s assumed that there would be a constant--and increasing--flow of students at the graduate level with interests in Western Europe, who had already acquired through their undergraduate education basic intellectual backgrounds on Western Europe. They assumed, that is, that the major task was to stimulate students and faculty to develop new research interests on Western Europe; they did not suspect that these students (and faculty) would not have adequate training and background to undertake this research. Although it would be necessary, for example, to make it possible for some of them to improve their language skills, or to provide some basic pre-field work orientation, it was never expected that students might have no prior European language training or background in European history and culture. Yet, while research frontiers have shifted back towards Western Europe, the main impact of the "non-Western revolution" is just being felt throughout our undergraduate programs and even in elementary and secondary education. What is taking place is the consistent replacement of courses and course contact dealing with Western Europe with those focusing on other areas of the world.

Thus, just at the time when resources to support a significant although limited revival of interest in research on Western European topics are increasingly insecure, a new task seems to loom ahead--to find new ways to revive interest in Western Europe throughout our educational system. Just when, at the research level, we emphasize the commonality of problems which face the advanced nations of North America and Western Europe, Europe, in terms of its languages, culture and history, is becoming an exotic area of the world to our students.

Footnotes, Chapter 1

1. Eckstein, Harry, "Perspective on Comparative Politics, Past and Present," in Harry Eckstein and David Apter, Comparative Politics: A Reader (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1963), p. 24.
2. See, for example, Gabriel Almond, "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, eds., The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), passim.
3. See Bryce Wood, "Area Studies," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 401, for a fine statement on area studies; and Richard Lambert, Language and Area Studies Review, Monograph 17 of The American Academy of Political Science, Philadelphia, 1973, for an exhaustive evaluation.
4. Rustow, Dankwart, "New Horizons for Comparative Politics," World Politics, Vol. LX, No. 4 (July 1957), reprinted in Eckstein and Apter, p. 7.
5. Morehouse, Ward, The International Dimensions of Education in New York State (Albany: State Education Department, 1963), p. 7.
6. The term is James Rosenau's. See his International Studies and the Social Sciences (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1973).
7. See, for example, the report of a conference held at Arlie House in May, 1967. Eastern Regional Conference on European and Atlantic Studies (Washington, D.C.: European Community Information Service, 1969). See also an article by Harry Eckstein, "A Critique of Area Studies from a West European Perspective," to be published in Lucien Pye, ed., Political Science and Area Studies (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, forthcoming).

8. See L.W. Pye and K.K. Ryland, "Activities of the Committee on Comparative Politics, 1954-1970," in Committee on Comparative Politics: A Report of the Activities of the Committee 1954-1970 (New York: Social Science Research Council, March, 1971).

9. The German Marshall Fund of the United States: Origins, Purposes, Resources and Guidelines (Washington, D.C.: n.d.).

Chapter II

RESEARCH ON WESTERN EUROPE

1. Introduction

One of the primary objectives of this study was to evaluate current interest in Western Europe in the social sciences. We attempted to deal with two general issues: in the first place, we wanted to determine the level of interest in Western Europe relative to that in other world areas, and how this pattern of interest was changing over time; second, we wanted to know more about the content of current research interests on Western European society and politics.

The sections of this chapter which follow, on History, Political Science, Economics, Anthropology, and Geography, deal with both of these issues. Two indicators were utilized to determine levels of interest. We relied upon completed dissertations as the best available indicator of interest in Western Europe and then attempted, where practical, to check our findings against another indicator, articles published in "mainstream" professional journals. In each case, dissertations and journal articles were categorized by world area (or as having no area base). Wherever possible, data from a broad time base has been utilized to indicate trends over time.

It must be underlined that these data indicate active interest in Western Europe. Interest must have been translated, therefore, into completed research before it could be included in our calculations. It is likely, of course, that if another definition of interest had been adopted--one based for example on scholars' self-evaluation--we would have found

much higher levels of interest. But our goal was to determine a more specific notion of the level of interest as actually expressed in research.

It would have been useful if we could have examined lists of research grants made by various foundations and the government, and categorized these data by world area. Unfortunately, data are not readily available, and we were limited to the more easily obtained data on dissertations and journal articles.

Lists of completed dissertations were obtained from the various professional associations. The lists were certainly imperfect. Perhaps our first lesson when undertaking this project was that professional associations (at least academic professional associations) seem to resist performing these administrative functions which one, naively, might assume they would do as a matter of course. Understandably--at least from a less innocent perspective--the staffs of these associations stress the content and academic side of their activities. After all, we all would prefer to run innovative programs and to open up new research frontiers than to compile lists of dissertations. The result, however, is that remarkably little is known about some very important matters. We could not find, for example, which universities are the main producers of dissertations in various disciplines, nor has anyone so far as we could tell ever seriously examined the number of dissertations produced each year or the content of these dissertations. (Actually, this isn't quite true. The decline in available jobs and the continued increase in dissertations has led several associations to become much more conscious of these matters. But the process is just beginning.) We are certain, therefore, that these data have omissions. But we are also confident, given the very large numbers involved, that the data do provide an accurate image of dissertation research.

We also had some difficulty identifying "mainstream" journals. In the end, we relied heavily upon the advice of the professional associations and of friends at the University of Pittsburgh. Because of the individual idiosyncrasies of the editors of journals and the propensity of groups of scholars interested in non-Western areas to form their own journals, these data proved to be less interesting and less solid as evidence. We tended, therefore, to use the journal statistics as a check against our findings based on dissertations.

After this first categorization of dissertations and journal articles by world area, we examined those dealing with Western Europe in more detail. We were particularly interested in the distribution by time period and by country studied. We also did rough analyses of content--rougher in the case of dissertations, since we utilized only titles, and more complete with the journal articles.

This analysis was carried out for History, Political Science, Economics, Anthropology and Geography. Sociology, however, posed particular problems. Data on completed dissertations were not available and we could get no agreement on mainstream journals. Instead a survey of American sociologists with known interests in Western Europe which had been recently carried out by CES was utilized as a data base. The format of the section of this report on Sociology, therefore, is different from the others.

2. HISTORY

In each of the other disciplines surveyed, Western Europe was much less important as a focus of research interest than in History. In History, however, Western Europe has been the most important area of interest (and perhaps the only area of interest) throughout much of the life of the discipline in this country, and remains a major research interest today.

Historians in America acquired only gradually an interest in the history of their own country which equalled their interest in the history of Europe. Today, American history is the largest subfield of the discipline, accounting throughout the 1960s for more than 45% of all dissertations. There has been a notable recent increase of interest in other world areas in History as in other disciplines. About 12% of the dissertations in progress or completed between 1961 and 1964 dealt with Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Near East. By 1971, 15% of the completed dissertations were on these areas.

But History in the United States is still remarkably Eurocentric. "Ancient" history almost always refers to Greece and Rome, rather than to ancient societies in the Middle East, India or China; "Medievel" history means Europe, too. Formal language requirements are still usually, if no longer inevitably, European--i.e., French, German, perhaps Spanish or Italian, but rarely non-European. Europe is the second largest area for dissertation research in History. About 30% of all dissertations completed in the 1960s deal with Europe, from the time of the Greeks and Romans until the present. (See TABLE 2/1. DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY BY WORLD AREA, 1961-64 AND 1967 THROUGH 1971.)

TABLE 2/1.

DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY BY WORLD AREA, 1961-64, AND 1967 THROUGH 1971

	1961-64*	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
NON-AREAL						
1. General	-0- (-)	7 (2.2)	14 (4.4)	17 (4.7)	12 (4.0)	18 (3.0)
2. Historiography	52 (2.2)	4 (1.3)	5 (1.5)	7 (1.9)	2 (0.6)	7 (1.2)
UNITED STATES	1121 (48.5)	156 (49.8)	141 (43.9)	173 (48.2)	129 (42.6)	270 (45.2)
WESTERN EUROPE	723 (31.3)	92 (29.4)	100 (31.1)	86 (23.9)	97 (32.0)	178 (29.8)
EASTERN EUROPE	115 (5.0)	8 (2.5)	18 (5.6)	13 (3.6)	10 (3.3)	36 (6.0)
AFRICA	35 (1.5)	5 (1.6)	7 (2.2)	18 (5.0)	13 (4.3)	21 (3.5)
ASIA	137 (5.9)	17 (5.4)	17 (5.3)	22 (6.1)	23 (7.6)	33 (5.5)
LATIN AMERICA	90 (3.9)	20 (6.4)	16 (5.0)	16 (4.4)	15 (4.9)	24 (4.0)
NEAR EAST	21 (1.0)	3 (0.9)	3 (0.9)	6 (1.7)	2 (0.7)	7 (1.8)
OTHER	18 (1.0)	1 (0.3)	-0-	1 (0.3)	-0-	3 (0.5)
TOTAL N=	2312 (100%)	313 (100%)	321 (100%)	359 (100%)	303 (100%)	597 (100%)

*1961-64 Dissertations in progress or completed; other years, dissertations completed.

In Table 2/2, dissertations on Western Europe are broken down by time period. Considerably more than 60% of these dissertations deal with the period from the rise of Modern Europe through the end of the nineteenth century (that is, almost 20% of all dissertations), and in most years the greatest number of dissertations were written on the "nineteenth century"--from Waterloo to the outbreak of World War I.

Few dissertations are now written on Ancient European history (on Greece and Rome), although there seems to be a steady flow of medievalists. Dissertations on contemporary Western Europe, from 1914 to the present, average about 20% of the European dissertations, or about 6% of all dissertations in History.

Most historians whose primary field of interest is Western Europe are identified in highly nationalized and periodized categories--nineteenth century German historians, eighteenth century British historians, or seventeenth century French historians, for example. Courses and graduate training follow the same formalized patterns. There seem to be few incentives for research which crosses boundaries between nations and time-periods. Indeed, at the dissertation level, there is a particular reluctance to do this because of the nationalized and periodized qualifications for most university jobs. Similarly, there is a reluctance for historians to identify their interests as "contemporary"--the twentieth century--unless, as we shall see, the subject of their work has the built-in and guaranteed significance of "Great Men and Great Events." (See TABLE 2/2. DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1961-64 AND 1967 THROUGH 1971.)

Our survey of articles from major scholarly journals in History produced similar findings. The United States and Western Europe are by

TABLE 2/2

DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1961-1964 AND 1967 THROUGH 1971

	1961-64*	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
ANCIENT	10 (1.4)	-0-	-0-	2 (2.3)	5 (5.1)	5 (2.8)
MEDIEVAL	104 (14.4)	17 (18.5)	10 (10.0)	15 (17.4)	14 (14.4)	17 (9.5)
EARLY MODERN TO 1715	138 (19.1)	13 (14.1)	4 (4.0)	16 (18.6)	31 (31.9)	44 (24.7)
1715-1814	97 (13.4)	13 (14.1)	20 (20.0)	10 (11.6)	8 (8.2)	25 (14.0)
1815-1914	234 (32.4)	29 (31.5)	34 (34.0)	26 (30.2)	20 (20.6)	43 (24.1)
1914-PRESENT	140 (19.7)	20 (21.8)	22 (22.0)	17 (19.8)	19 (19.6)	44 (24.7)
TOTAL N =	723 (100%)	92 (100%)	100 (100%)	86 (100%)	97 (100%)	178 (100%)

*1961-64 Dissertations in progress or completed; other years, dissertations completed.

far the primary world areas of interest, and account for more than two-thirds of all of the articles in the journals during the entire period surveyed. The percentage of articles on Western Europe remains roughly stable through the periods covered, while those on the United States decrease from an average of 41% of the total in 1948-49 to 31% in 1970-71. At the same time, articles on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Near East increased from 7% to 17% of the total. (See TABLE 2/3. JOURNAL ARTICLES* IN HISTORY BY WORLD AREA.)

The distribution of journal articles on Western Europe by time-period is similar to the distribution of dissertations. Because there are substantially fewer journal articles than dissertations in the survey, and in order to cancel out some of the idiosyncratic effects of different journal editors, we aggregated the articles within the three time-periods. Thus, between 1967 and 1971, about 46% of all articles on Western Europe dealt with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and another 12% dealt with Early Modern Europe--parallel to the distribution of dissertations. Some differences, however, are noteworthy. Articles in these journals on Medieval Europe seem to be underrepresented in terms of the percentage of dissertations completed on this period. There is, on the other hand, a relatively greater weight of journal articles than dissertations on contemporary Western Europe, particularly when those articles with a broader time frame are included in this category. (Although some of these articles were not written by historians, to be sure.) Rather more than 30% of the articles on Western Europe surveyed in the 1950s and 1960s deal to some extent with the twentieth century. (See TABLE 2/4. JOURNAL ARTICLES IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE.)

TABLE 2/3

JOURNAL ARTICLES IN HISTORY BY WORLD AREA*

	1948	1949	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
NON-AREAL	5 (11.9)	3 (7.1)	4 (7.4)	5 (6.3)	10 (10.1)	7 (6.9)	12 (11.2)	11 (9.2)	10 (8.5)
UNITED STATES	18 (42.9)	17 (40.5)	18 (33.3)	26 (32.9)	36 (36.4)	41 (40.1)	34 (31.8)	32 (26.7)	39 (33.1)
WESTERN EUROPE	15 (35.7)	16 (38.1)	21 (38.9)	29 (36.7)	32 (32.3)	35 (34.3)	31 (29.0)	37 (30.8)	41 (34.7)
EASTERN EUROPE	-0-	-0-	2 (3.7)	1 (1.3)	4 (4.0)	4 (3.9)	4 (3.7)	1 (0.8)	4 (3.4)
AFRICA	-0-	-0-	-0-	3 (3.8)	1 (1.0)	2 (2.0)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.3)	2 (1.7)
ASIA	-0-	-0-	3 (5.6)	4 (5.1)	5 (5.0)	7 (6.9)	8 (7.5)	4 (3.3)	11 (9.2)
LATIN AMERICA	1 (2.4)	2 (4.8)	-0-	2 (2.5)	4 (4.0)	1 (1.0)	4 (3.7)	10 (2.0)	3 (2.5)
NEAR EAST	1 (2.4)	2 (4.8)	-0-	-0-	2 (2.0)	-0-	4 (3.7)	2 (2.0)	4 (3.4)
OTHER AREAS	-0-	-0-	-0-	1 (1.3)	1 (1.0)	2 (2.0)	-0-	3 (2.5)	-0-
COMPARISONS ACROSS AREAS	2 (4.8)	2 (4.8)	6 (11.1)	7 (8.9)	4 (4.0)	3 (3.0)	9 (8.4)	16 (13.3)	4 (3.4)
TOTAL N =	42 (100%)	42 (100%)	54 (100%)	79 (100%)	99 (100%)	102 (100%)	107 (100%)	120 (100%)	118 (100%)

*Table includes The American Historical Review, The Historian, The Journal of Economic History (all 1948-1971), Comparative Studies in Societies and History (1958-1971), and The Journal of Social History (1967-1971).

TABLE 2/4

JOURNAL ARTICLES IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE

	1948/49	1958/59	1967/71
ANCIENT	3.2% (1)	4.0% (2)	1.1% (2)
MEDIEVAL	6.4% (2)	4.0% (2)	9.1% (16)
EARLY MODERN (to 1715)	16.1% (5)	24.0% (12)	12.0% (21)
1715-1914	67.7% (21)	32.0% (16)	46.3% (81)
1914-PRESENT	3.2% (1)	24.0% (12)	26.8% (47)
ACROSS TIME PERIODS INCLUDING 20th CENTURY	3.2% (1)	12.0% (6)	4.6% (3)
N=	100% (31)	100% (50)	100% (175)

Our conclusions thus far are the following:

1. Subfields in History are determined primarily by world area (or by country within world area) and by time-period, and this appears to be especially true with regard to Western Europe. There is little evidence of research, either in journal articles or dissertations, that is comparative or that crosses areas or time-periods (and, in the case of Western Europe, that crosses national boundaries within Western Euorpe).
2. The distribution of articles and dissertations by world areas has been fairly stable during the periods examined. The United States provides the largest focus of interest, although there is evidence that it is gradually declining in importance. Europe--"Modern Europe" (Modern Western Europe, that is--remarkably little research seems to be carried out on Russian and Eastern Europe)--is second, and seems to be very stable. The "developing areas" appear to be increasing, but not very rapidly.
3. Within Western Europe, the major research focus is the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Interest in contemporary Western Europe, as expressed in dissertations, is quite low--about 6% of the yearly total of dissertations, although there seems to be evidence of rather more interest in the journals we surveyed. This may be partially due to the fact that even those younger historians who are primarily interested in Western Europe since 1914 are more likely to write dissertations on earlier periods because of the traditional requirements of most jobs in "Modern European History."

Our particular concern in this report is research on Western Europe in the twentieth century. Some 30% of the dissertations carried out in History deal with Europe, but only about 6% focus on Western Europe since 1914. Almost all of these dissertations (and most of the journal articles on Western Europe in the same period) deal with a single country. Comparative work involving two or more countries is quite rare in History, at least in those subfields which we examined. The focus of most research on a single country was not a surprise, but the extent to which this research was concentrated on a few major countries was unexpected. Almost 90% of the dissertations and close to 80% of the journal articles which dealt with Western Europe in the twentieth century were on one of four countries: France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Close to 40% of the dissertations and 30% of the articles are on Germany alone. Work on countries other than these four is minimal; out of 300 articles and dissertations, only 16 deal specifically with a country other than these four.

The concentration of research on Germany is at least partially explained by the ease of access in the United States to official documents and other materials on recent German history, but the nearly total absence of any work on countries other than France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom is much less easily understood. (See TABLE 2/5. COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1914-PRESENT.)

The concentration of research upon a few major countries is, if anything, even heavier in research on Western Europe in the nineteenth century. Fully 80% of the journal articles dealing with Western Europe in the nineteenth century which we surveyed focus on France, Germany or the United Kingdom, with the United Kingdom alone accounting for more than 40%

TABLE 2/5

COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS & JOURNAL ARTICLES IN HISTORY ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1914-PRESENT

	Dissertations* 1961-1964	Dissertations** 1967-1971	Journal Articles 1967-1971
FRANCE	24.3% (34)	21.3% (26)	8.5% (4)
GERMANY (East & West)	35.7 (50)	41.0 (50)	29.8 (14)
ITALY	6.4 (9)	1.6 (2)	14.9 (7)
UNITED KINGDOM	20.7 (29)	22.1 (27)	25.5 (12)
OTHER COUNTRIES	2.8 (4)	5.7 (7)	10.6 (5)
COMPARATIVE NON-SPECIFIC	10.0 (14)	8.2 (10)	10.6 (5)
N =	100% (140)	100% (122)	100% (47)

* Dissertations in progress or completed

** Dissertations completed

of the articles. Only 10 out of 118 articles deal with another country, and 5 of these are on Italy. The concentration of dissertations is similar. In 1967, for example, out of 29 dissertations completed on this period, 13 are on Britain (ard Ireland), 4 on Germany (and Austria) and 8 on France. In 1970, out of 20 dissertations, 8 deal with Britain, 6 with Germany, and 4 with France.

We found almost no research, in articles or dissertations, on Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, or the Iberian peninsula either on the nineteenth or the twentieth century. The only apparent difference, indeed, between the concentration in these two time-periods is that the predominance of Britain in the first period gives way to Germany in the second.

We were unable to study abstracts of these dissertations and articles, but have attempted to perform a rudimentary analysis of their content by examining key words in their titles. As a data base, we utilized those dissertations on Western Europe since 1914 which were completed between 1966 and 1971 and those articles on the same period published between 1967 and 1971--a total of over 200 titles. A content analysis in this fashion obviously leaves much to be desired but, even so, the findings are quite interesting.

By far, the largest number of titles deal with Germany--almost 40% of the total. Almost all of these are on West Germany (only 2--1 dissertation and 1 journal article--deal with the DDR). About half are on some aspect of the Nazi era, a large share of these dealing with military policy, the conduct of the war, and military organization and the SS. A rather smaller segment deal with Weimar. Throughout the German titles, there is a heavy weight on biography and on foreign policy and

diplomatic relations. There is almost no work on domestic public policy--we found only one dissertation on economic policy and 3 or 4 on social policy under the Nazis.

Articles and dissertations on Britain, about half the number of Germany, are clustered even more heavily on diplomatic history and foreign relations. Almost half of the articles on Britain focus on foreign relations and the pattern in dissertation research is similar. We did find a certain number of dissertations and articles on government and administration, but we were surprised how little work was found on parties and politics--particularly on the Labour Party and working class politics.

The articles and dissertations on France were rather more scattered among different subjects than those on either Germany or Britain. There were several dissertations on Vichy and on France during World War II, several on France in the 1930s--a third of which dealt with military policy. Unlike Germany, there were several dissertations on the post-1945 period, all of which seemed to deal with Algeria. There was almost no work on political parties, social or political movements, and little on politics in general.

All in all, work in History on contemporary Western Europe seems to show a remarkably narrow focus of interest. Research is heavily concentrated on the "major" countries and is almost entirely dominated by the concerns of "High Politics" and "Great Events." We could identify almost no dissertations or articles that deal with social change, with mass movements or, for example, with urbanization, urban change, or urban problems and policies. There is little evidence of work on social or economic policy and, what there is, is concerned mainly with top policy makers.

We found some comparative research and some that escapes the narrow confines of major countries and limited time-periods. This represents a very small portion, however, and interests represented in it are widely varied, ranging from the more traditional concerns of the diplomacy of major international meetings (the Washington Conference of 1922, the Lausanne Conference of 1932) to some work on ethnic diversity, demography, and broad economic policies. Still, our initial conclusion remains: research on Western Europe in the twentieth century, so far as we can tell from our survey of dissertations and articles, remains dominated by "large countries, great men, and important events" in classic style.

Although we were unable to examine individual dissertations, we did perform a rough methodological survey of the journal articles, and the findings here tend to strongly support our conclusions on the "classic" nature of work in history on Western Europe in the twentieth century. Over 50% of the articles utilized no quantitative data, and about 40% used either a simple statement of amount or single variable analysis--frequency counts, averages, rates, ratios and so on. Fewer than 10% of the articles utilized a more sophisticated quantitative approach.

We were surprised how little contact there seemed to be between these historians who write on contemporary Western Europe and those political scientists (and others) who share very similar research interests. As we shall see in the next section, dissertations in Political Science on Western Europe are also concentrated heavily on the major countries, but the predominant research interest of historians and political scientists, who deal with the same countries in the same time-periods, have almost no apparent overlap. So far as we can tell--although this partial evidence does reinforce what we believe to be true--the two largest groups of scholars working on contemporary Western Europe,

in History and Political Science, continue to be remarkably insulated from one another and from each others' primary scholarly concerns.

Finally, we strongly suspect that in certain vital ways, the historians who work on Western Europe in the twentieth century are not really the most "contemporary" historians working on Europe. In terms of research questions and methodologies, we belive that historians working on earlier periods--even as early as the Middle Ages--are often more "contemporary" than those who study the twentieth century.

3. POLITICAL SCIENCE

The major foci of research in Political Science have been less stable than in History, at least as revealed by the pattern of dissertation research. There has been greater change in the distribution of dissertations by subfields than in History, and the distribution of dissertations (and journal articles) by world areas has been subject to much greater change in Political Science. The impact of new interests in the non-Western world in particular has been more intense in Political Science than in other disciplines. Finally, the number of dissertations completed each year has increased at a far more rapid rate in Political Science, particularly during the last half of the 1960s. In 1958, 157 dissertations were completed; in eight years, in 1966, there were 289. But four years later, in 1970, the number of completed dissertations had risen to 580, and 1000 are expected to be completed in 1973.

Table 2/6 shows the distribution of dissertations in Political Science by subfields over a 25-year period. Figures for 1948, 1958, 1968 and 1972 are plotted on Graph 2/1. Two primary trends are immediately visible: the increase, during most of the period, in the Comparative Politics subfield and the almost corresponding decrease in the International Politics subfield. (See TABLE 2/6. POLITICAL SCIENCE DISSERTATIONS BY SUBFIELD, 1948 TO 1972; followed by GRAPH 2/1. POLITICAL SCIENCE DISSERTATIONS: DISTRIBUTION BY SUBFIELDS, 1948-1972.) During the 1948-1958 period, there was a great increase of interest in the discipline in Comparative and International Politics--particularly Comparative--and a decline of interest in the more traditional subfields of

TABLE 2/6

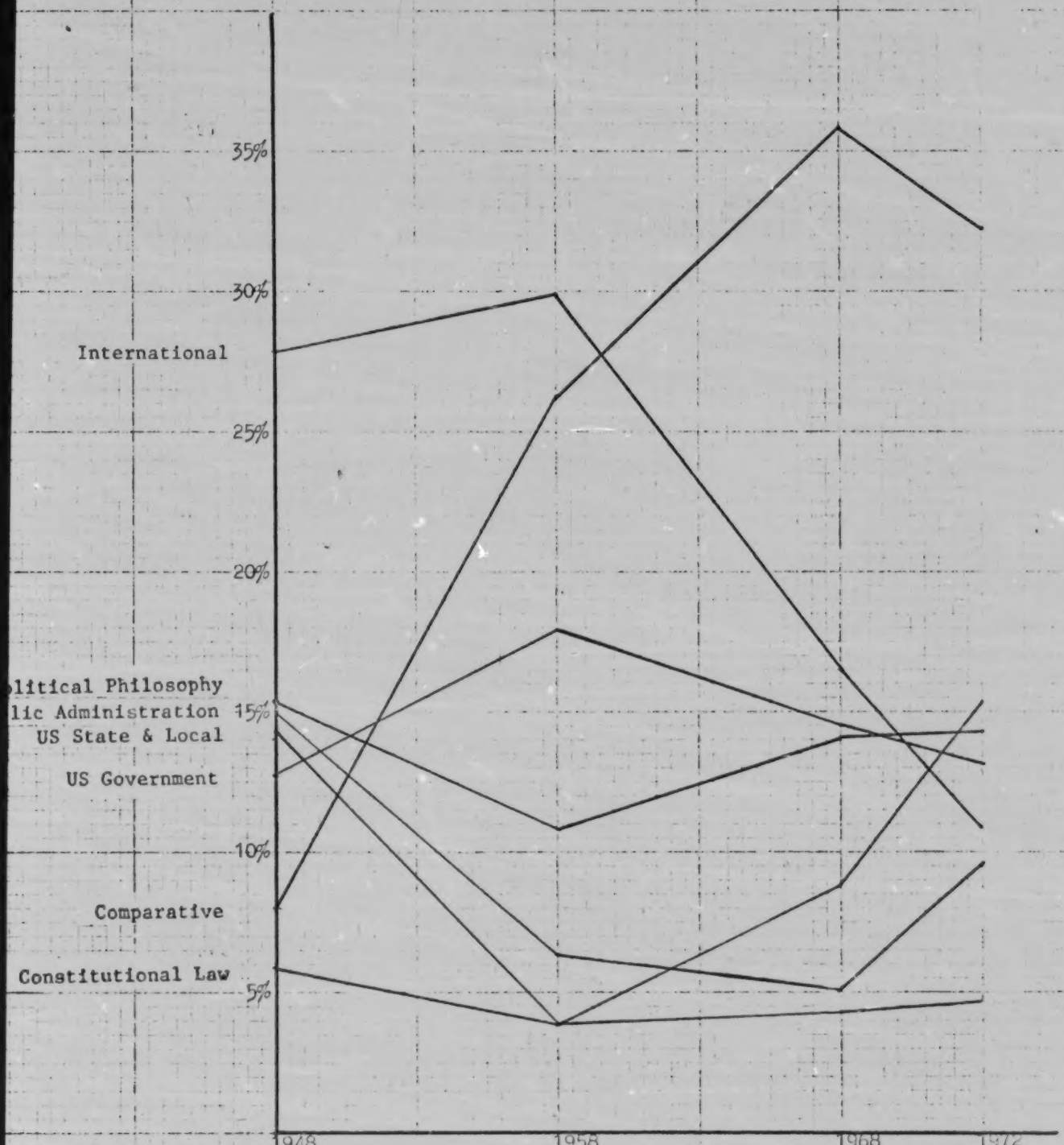
POLITICAL SCIENCE DISSERTATIONS BY SUBFIELD

	1948*	1949*	1958	1959	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1966-72 Total
Political Philosophy, Theory, Methodology	15.2% (70)	11.7% (80)	10.8% (17)	14.6% (30)	11.1% (32)	13.1% (43)	14.0% (71)	10.2% (54)	14.1% (79)	11.3% (85)	14.2% (114)	12.6% (478)
Government and Politics of the U.S.	12.6 (58)	11.4 (78)	17.8 (28)	10.7 (22)	15.6 (45)	13.1 (43)	14.5 (74)	13.0 (69)	12.8 (72)	12.4 (93)	13.1 (104)	13.2 (500)
Constitutional and Administrative Law in the U.S.	5.8 (27)	5.1 (35)	3.8 (6)	6.8 (14)	2.8 (8)	7.9 (26)	4.3 (22)	5.3 (28)	5.1 (29)	5.1 (38)	4.7 (37)	5.0 (188)
American State and Local Government and Politics	14.3 (66)	12.0 (82)	3.8 (6)	13.1 (27)	11.8 (34)	10.6 (35)	8.7 (44)	13.0 (69)	10.1 (57)	14.7 (111)	15.2 (122)	12.5 (472)
Canadian Government and Politics	0.8 (4)	0.8 (6)	1.2 (2)	0.4 (1)	1.7 (5)	0.0 (0)	1.1 (6)	0.8 (4)	0.6 (3)	0.9 (7)	0.2 (9)	0.9 (34)
Public Administration	15.0 (69)	11.1 (76)	6.3 (10)	6.8 (14)	8.7 (25)	7.3 (24)	5.1 (26)	4.3 (23)	8.1 (46)	6.1 (46)	9.5 (76)	7.0 (266)
Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics	8.0 (37)	9.1 (62)	26.1 (41)	18.0 (37)	30.4 (88)	26.4 (87)	35.8 (182)	34.0 (180)	35.7 (201)	31.2 (235)	32.2 (261)	32.6 (1234)
International Organization, Politics, Law	27.8 (128)	27.9 (190)	29.9 (47)	29.2 (60)	17.9 (52)	21.6 (71)	16.5 (84)	19.4 (103)	13.5 (76)	18.3 (138)	10.8 (87)	16.2 (611)
N =	100.0 (459)	100.0 (679)	100.0 (157)	100.0 (205)	100.0 (289)	100.0 (329)	100.0 (509)	100.0 (503)	100.0 (563)	100.0 (753)	100.0 (810)	100.0 (3783)

*1948-49, dissertations in preparation; all other years, dissertations completed.

GRAPH 3/1

POLITICAL SCIENCE DISSERTATIONS
BY SUBFIELD 1948,58,68,72



Constitutional Law, American State and Local Government, Public Administration and Political Theory. Between 1958 and 1968, interest in Comparative Politics continued to increase rapidly, but the weight of International Politics in the discipline decreased precipitously. Other subfields tended to stabilize, however, and except for the near total reversal of the positions of the Comparative and International subfields, the distribution of dissertations among subfields in 1968 closely resembled that of 1948. During the last five years, however, there has been evidence of rather greater changes taking place in the shape of the discipline. The International subfield has continued to decline and Comparative, too, now seems to have peaked and leveled off, or even begun to decline. There has been a notable tendency for graduate students in Political Science, as in other disciplines of the social sciences, to turn their attention to their own society, and particularly to those problems and issues of American urban life. Data suggest that the "internationalist era", which saw a massive allocation of existing and (more importantly) new resources into the study of societies other than our own (and other than those in Western Europe) is coming to an end, and that the primary focus of the interest of students and scholars in this country will be, indeed, this country itself.

These findings fit well with those of an earlier study of the changing distribution of dissertations in Political Science. In an article that appeared in the Journal of Politics in 1968, Ralph Braibanti compiled the average percentages of dissertations by subfields for four five-year periods covering the period from 1948 to 1966.[1]

TABLE 2/7

POLITICAL SCIENCE DISSERTATIONS BY SUBFIELD, 1948-1972, II

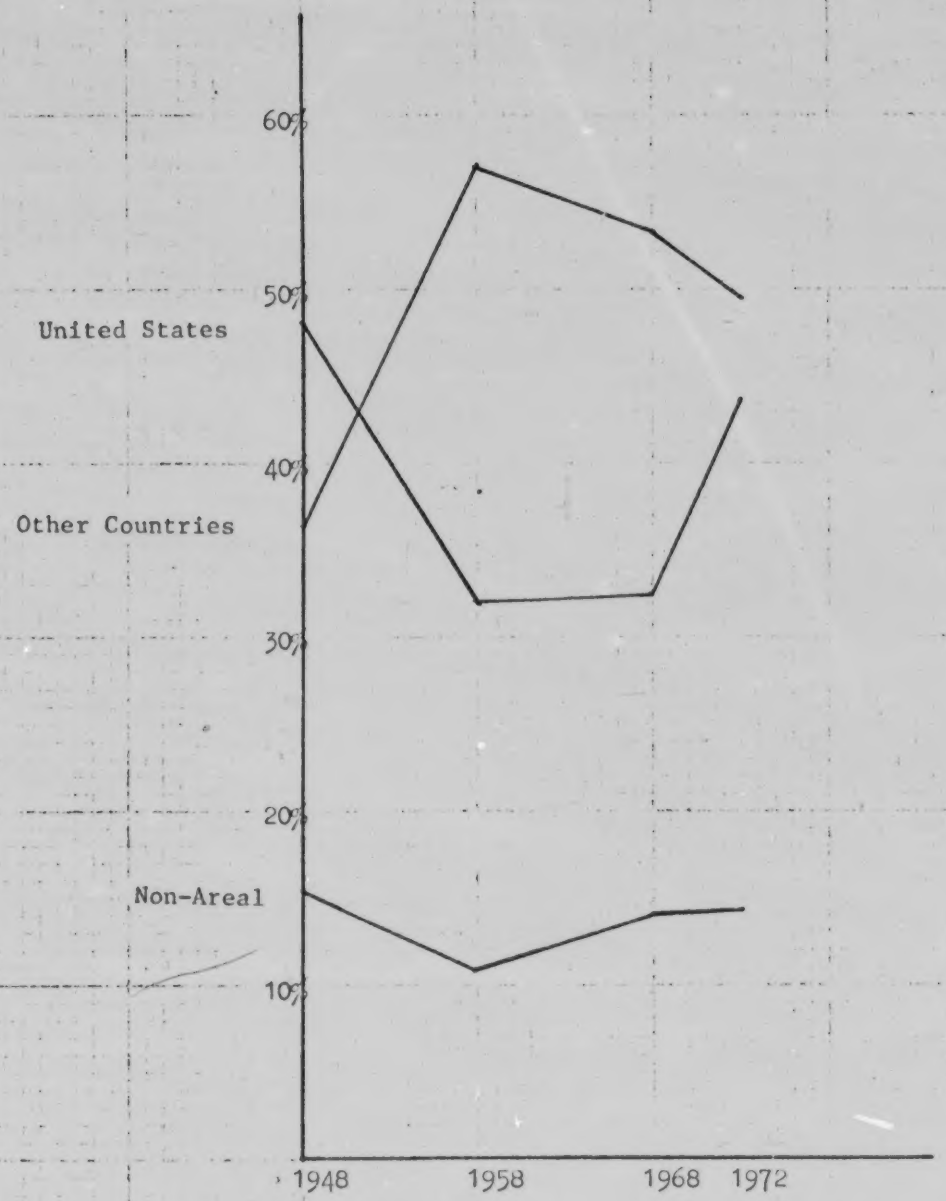
	Braibanti's Study				CES Study	
	1948-52	1953-57	1958-62	1963-66	1966-72	[1972]
Political Theory	13%	11%	11%	11%	13%	14%
American Government	13	13	12	11	13	13
Constitutional Law	6	5	5	5	5	5
State and Local	11	10	10	10	13	15
Public Administration	14	11	11	9	7	9
Comparative Politics	12	17	27	33	33	32
International	31	33	26	21	16	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	(3,444)	(4,338)	(1,503)	(1,894)	(3,783)	(810)

The two sets of data clearly reveal these trends--in particular, the decline of the International Politics subfields and the rise of the Comparative subfield (as well as its apparent leveling off in recent years). The final column in the table also shows the recent increase of interest in American State and Local Government.

By far the greatest number of dissertations in Political Science deal with the United States. The percentage of dissertations on the U.S. dropped sharply, however, between 1948 and 1958. It remained roughly stable for the next decade and has increased significantly in the past five years. (See GRAPH 2/2. AREALITY OF DISSERTATIONS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, 1948-1972.) Dissertations on the United States declined from 47.7% of those in progress in 1948 to 31.7% of those completed in 1958, while the percentage of dissertations on (all) other countries rose from 36.6% to 57.2%. There was much less change in this balance during the next decade, but in the last cinquinium, dissertations on the United States have increased sharply, while those on other countries have continued to decline.

GRAPH 2/2

AREALITY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
DISSERTATIONS 1948-72



Almost all dissertations in Political Science on countries other than the US (and Canada, which now has its own subfield) are found in either the Comparative or International subfields. Table 2/8 shows the distribution of dissertations in these two subfields by world area. The table also shows the weight of each figure as a percentage of all dissertations completed that year. (See TABLE 2/8. DISSERTATIONS IN "COMPARATIVE" AND "INTERNATIONAL" BY WORLD AREA.)

The data in Table 2/8 reveal the formidable increase in the number and weight of dissertations on the developing areas of the world throughout most of the 25-year period surveyed. Dissertations on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East accounted for 5.3% of those in preparation in 1948, 12.1% of those dissertations completed in 1958, and 21.9% of those completed in 1968. In 1958, 19 dissertations were completed on these areas. Ten years later, the number increased to 112.

Different world areas have had quite different rates of growth. Latin America and East Asia have had consistently high growth rates, particularly during the late 1960s. The rush of dissertations on Africa began a few years later but increased still more rapidly. South Asia and Southeast Asia, on the other hand, seem never to have achieved this take-off. The percentages of dissertations on Europe, however, both East and West, have been very stable throughout the period. Except for the earliest period, Eastern Europe has consistently accounted for about 4% of the dissertations. Similarly, in every year covered since 1958 but one--1958--Western Europe has accounted for some 7% of the total. Western Europe has accounted for more dissertations each year than any other world area, though it may now be surpassed by Latin America.

The absolute number of dissertations on the developing areas has continued to increase in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but the rate of

TABLE 2/8

DISSERTATIONS IN "COMPARATIVE" & "INTERNATIONAL" BY WORLD AREA
(% of total dissertations)

	1948*	1949*	1958	1959	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1966-72 Totals
Africa	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (0.63)	0 (-)	10 (3.46)	12 (3.65)	17 (3.34)	24 (4.53)	29 (5.15)	46 (6.11)	33 (4.07)	171 (4.52)
Asia-East	11 (2.39)	13 (1.91)	5 (3.18)	4 (1.95)	9 (3.11)	6 (1.82)	19 (3.73)	25 (4.72)	33 (5.86)	27 (3.59)	32 (3.95)	151 (3.99)
Asia-South	1 (-)	5 (0.73)	2 (1.27)	7 (3.41)	17 (5.88)	8 (2.43)	10 (1.96)	7 (1.32)	15 (2.66)	23 (3.05)	16 (1.98)	96 (2.54)
Asia-Southeast	3 (0.65)	6 (0.88)	2 (1.27)	7 (3.41)	3 (1.04)	9 (2.74)	19 (3.73)	10 (1.89)	8 (1.42)	8 (1.06)	17 (2.10)	74 (1.96)
Eastern Europe	11 (2.39)	16 (2.35)	8 (5.09)	9 (4.39)	18 (6.23)	10 (3.04)	20 (3.93)	26 (4.91)	20 (3.55)	27 (3.59)	29 (3.58)	105 (3.97)
Latin America	7 (1.52)	17 (2.50)	4 (2.54)	3 (1.46)	9 (3.11)	17 (5.17)	20 (5.89)	39 (7.36)	32 (5.68)	39 (5.18)	57 (7.04)	233 (6.16)
Middle East	1 (-)	5 (0.73)	5 (3.18)	15 (7.31)	12 (4.15)	7 (2.13)	17 (3.34)	14 (2.64)	15 (2.66)	27 (3.59)	18 (2.22)	110 (2.91)
Western Europe	34 (7.40)	61 (8.98)	27 (17.10)	13 (6.34)	19 (6.57)	28 (8.51)	37 (7.27)	41 (7.27)	35 (6.62)	55 (7.30)	55 (6.79)	270 (7.14)
U.S./North America (inc. NATO)	35 (7.62)	39 (5.74)	13 (8.28)	16 (7.80)	3 (1.04)	11 (3.34)	17 (3.34)	18 (3.40)	14 (2.50)	25 (3.32)	17 (2.10)	105 (2.77)
Comparative Between Areas	15 (3.26)	17 (2.50)	5 (3.18)	4 (1.95)	4 (1.38)	6 (1.82)	1 (0.20)	6 (1.13)	3 (0.53)		10 (1.23)	30 (0.79)
Other	4 (0.87)	4 (0.58)	4 (2.54)	3 (1.46)	8 (2.77)	6 (1.82)	10 (1.96)	9 (1.70)	12 (2.13)	24 (3.19)	15 (1.85)	84 (2.22)
Non-Specific	41 (8.93)	67 (9.86)	10 (6.36)	15 (7.31)	28 (9.69)	38 (11.55)	69 (13.56)	64 (12.08)	61 (10.83)	72 (9.56)	49 (6.05)	381 (10.07)
N =	459 (100%)	679 (100%)	157 (100%)	205 (100%)	289 (100%)	320 (100%)	509 (100%)	530 (100%)	565 (100%)	753 (100%)	810 (100%)	3783 (100%)

* 1948-49, dissertations in preparation; all other years, dissertations completed.

increase of these areas seems to have leveled off. The percentage of dissertations on these areas which increased so substantially between 1948 and 1968 has been stable in the last few years. At the same time, the combined weight of the Comparative and International subfields has declined from 52.3% of all dissertations completed in 1968 to 49.2% in 1970, and 43.0% in 1972.

These findings are generally corroborated by our survey of journal articles. Table 2/9 shows the areal distribution of articles between 1948 and 1971 in five major journals in Political Science. General trends in four areas--North America, Western Europe, Developing Areas and Non-Areal--are traced in Graph 2/3. (In Graph 2/3, we have utilized averages for each time-period to compensate for the considerably smaller number of articles we are dealing with as well as for any idiosyncratic variations in particular journals.) (See TABLE 2/9. JOURNAL ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE BY WORLD AREA: followed by GRAPH 2/3. JOURNAL ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: DISTRIBUTION BY WORLD AREA, 1948-1971.) Between 1948/49 and 1958/59, there was a sharp decline in the percentage of articles dealing with North America--from 51% of the total down to 32%--and a near doubling of the percentage of articles dealing with the developing areas of the world--from 6% to 11%. Non-areal--that is, theoretical and methodological--articles increased, too, during this period, from 17% to 23% of the total, while articles on Western Europe remained stable at 17-18%. These trends parallel closely those taking place at the same time in the production of dissertations.

During the next ten-year period, however, there are some apparent divergences between the dissertation and journal data. In particular, while dissertations on the developing areas continue to increase significantly both absolutely and as a percentage of the total, there is no

TABLE 2/9

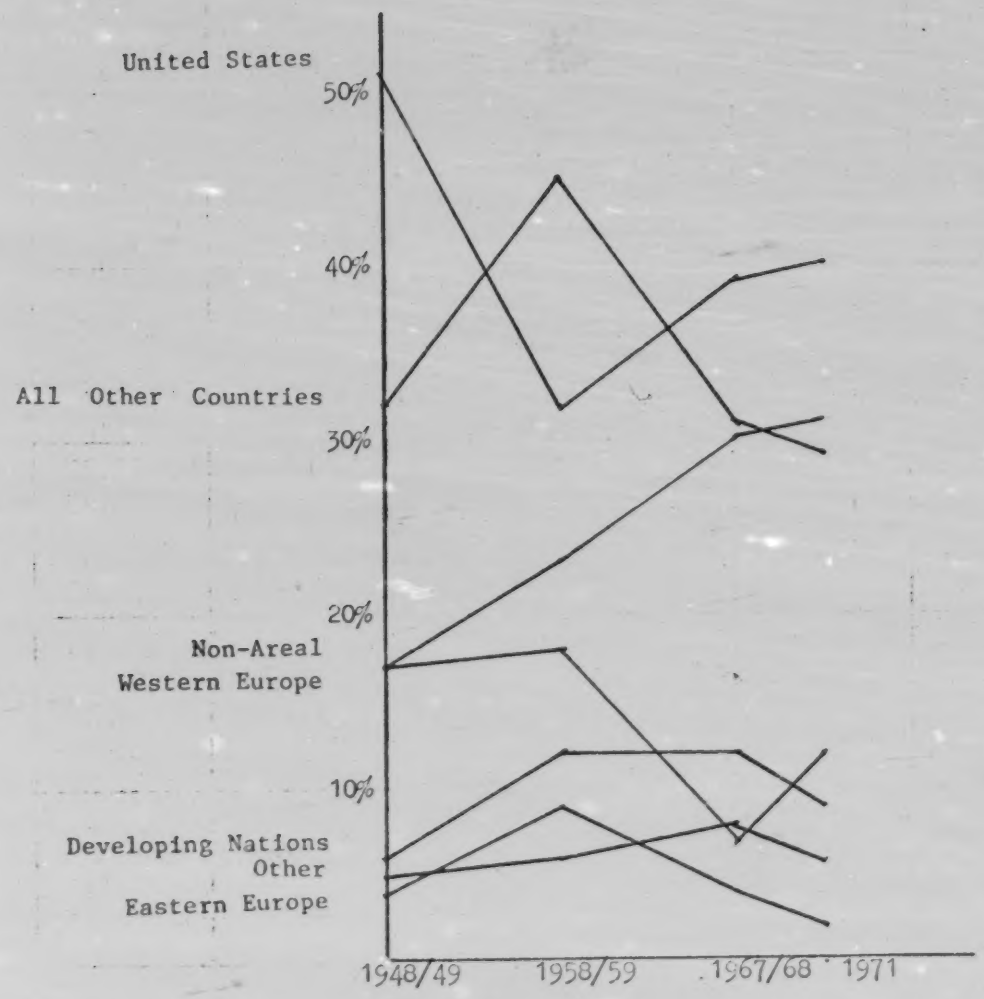
JOURNAL ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE BY WORLD AREA*

	1948	1949	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Africa	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (1.56)	0 (-)	1 (0.74)	5 (3.25)	1 (0.62)	6 (3.65)	3 (1.94)
Asia-East	5 (5.26)	4 (3.23)	3 (2.34)	4 (3.54)	5 (3.68)	3 (1.95)	1 (0.62)	4 (2.43)	4 (2.59)
Asia-South	0 (-)	2 (1.61)	4 (3.13)	0 (-)	3 (2.21)	1 (0.65)	1 (0.62)	0 (-)	2 (1.29)
Asia-Southeast	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (0.78)	1 (0.88)	1 (0.74)	2 (1.30)	0 (-)	2 (1.21)	0 (-)
Eastern Europe	4 (4.21)	4 (3.23)	13 (10.16)	10 (8.85)	3 (2.21)	9 (5.84)	4 (2.50)	8 (4.87)	3 (1.94)
Latin America	1 (1.05)	1 (0.81)	0 (-)	4 (3.54)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.25)	10 (6.25)	3 (1.82)	3 (1.94)
Middle East	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (1.56)	6 (5.31)	3 (2.21)	2 (1.30)	1 (0.62)	2 (1.21)	2 (1.29)
North America	48 (50.53)	65 (52.42)	42 (32.81)	36 (31.86)	57 (41.91)	56 (36.36)	64 (40.00)	71 (43.29)	62 (40.25)
Western Europe	15 (15.79)	22 (17.74)	27 (21.09)	18 (15.93)	14 (10.29)	6 (3.90)	18 (11.25)	10 (6.09)	19 (12.33)
Other Areas	1 (1.05)	1 (0.81)	3 (2.34)	2 (1.77)	0 (-)	1 (0.65)	3 (1.87)	3 (1.82)	2 (1.29)
Across Areas	3 (3.16)	5 (4.03)	3 (2.34)	5 (4.42)	9 (6.62)	12 (7.79)	7 (4.37)	9 (5.48)	6 (3.89)
Non-Areal	18 (18.95)	20 (16.13)	28 (21.88)	27 (23.89)	35 (25.74)	52 (33.77)	50 (31.25)	46 (28.04)	48 (31.16)
N =	95 (100%)	124 (100%)	128 (100%)	113 (100%)	136 (100%)	154 (100%)	160 (100%)	164 (100%)	154 (100%)

* Journals surveyed: Journal of Politics, American Political Science Review, Political Science Quarterly (all 1948-1971), and Midwest Journal of Political Science (1958-1971).

GRAPH 2/3

POLITICAL SCIENCE JOURNAL ARTICLES
BY WORLD AREA, 1948/49-1971



increase in articles on these areas in the journals surveyed. If anything, our data indicate a decline in articles on these areas between 1967/68 and 1970/71. The reason for this is not difficult to ascertain, however. On the one hand, there was a remarkable growth of new journals devoted to particular world areas during this period. Between 1967 and 1970, we have found that the number of journals devoted to a single world area increased from 12 to 25. On the other hand, there has been a growing reluctance in the "mainstream" journals to publish articles growing out of "area studies". Instead editors have attempted to increase the weight of theoretical and methodological studies. Thus, in the 1967-1971 period, articles with no areal focus increased to nearly a third of the total while those with an areal focus (other than the United States) declined to less than a fifth of the total.

Despite the sharp decline of articles on Western Europe in the 1960s, we see that, relative to other world areas, Western Europe still seems to be over-represented in the main political science journals. Once again, an explanation is fairly clear. A smaller proportion of research on Western Europe tends to be of the configurative-descriptive style more prevalent in research on those areas about which relatively less is known. Put more positively, research on Western Europe tends more often to deal with "disciplinary-general" questions and to be oriented to a wider audience of non-area specialists within the discipline than research on other world areas.

The very great majority of dissertations and articles surveyed deal with Western Europe in the twentieth century, and most focus on the post-1945 period. There are, of course, important exceptions. At least one journal seems to have encouraged articles on Western Europe with a more historical approach (some of which, indeed, were written by

well-known historians) and a substantial segment of dissertations, particularly in International Politics, involve case studies of particular events in international relations many of which occurred in the nineteenth century (or even earlier). By and large, however, the time frame of most of the research on Western Europe is the contemporary era.

The great majority of this research deals with a single country, and a high proportion is on one of the four "major" countries of Western Europe--France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom--or on "Europe." Table 3/5 shows that dissertations and articles are heavily clustered on these countries, although not to quite as high a degree as was the case in History. The average concentration on the four main countries across all columns in Table 2/10 is 65%. This figure is even higher when "Europe" is included as the fifth "major country." About 75% of all of the dissertations and journal articles deal with one of these five. (See TABLE 2/10. COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE ON WESTERN EUROPE.)

There is little difference in the degree of concentration on the major countries between dissertations in Comparative Politics or in International Politics, or between dissertations and journal articles. Dissertations in Comparative Politics show a somewhat greater emphasis on the four countries, while those in International Politics include a larger proportion on "Europe", particularly in the 1966-72 period. The concentration on the top five "countries", however, is about the same in all categories.

The average percentage of concentration for dissertations and articles for each time-period seems to decline--from the high 70s in 1948-49, to the low 70s in 1958-59 and to the high 60s in 1966-72. There also appear to be shifts in the relative weights of the major countries

TABLE 2/10

COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE ON WESTERN EUROPE

	1948-49			1958-59			1966-72		
	Dissertations*		Journals	Dissertations		Journals	Dissertations		Journals**
	Compar.	Intern'l.		Compar.	Intern'l.		Compar.	Intern'l.	
France	23.4%	16.6%	10.8%	17.3%	5.8%	22.2%	15.5%	15.6%	14.6%
Germany	12.7	8.3	29.7	17.3	35.2	26.7	21.8	15.6	20.7
Italy	10.6	4.1	2.7	-0-	-0-	8.9	9.7	1.6	6.9
United Kingdom	36.1	39.5	13.5	26.0	23.5	22.2	21.3	10.9	15.5
Other Countries	14.8	10.4	5.4	17.5	23.4	4.4	20.9	26.6	4.3
"Europe"	-0-	10.4	21.6	8.2	5.8	4.4	6.3	26.6	6.0
Comparative	2.1	8.3	10.8	13.0	5.8	6.7	4.4	3.1	31.0
Other	-0-	-0-	5.4	-0-	-0-	4.4	-0-	-0-	0.9
N =	100% (47)	100% (48)	100% (37)	100% (23)	100% (17)	100% (45)	100% (206)	100% (64)	100% (116)

* 1948-49 dissertations in progress; other years, dissertations completed.

** Journal data cover 1967-71; includes those journals covered in Table 3/4 and Comparative Politics and Comparative Political Studies.

over time. In Comparative Politics, dissertations on the United Kingdom decline and those on Germany increase over the period examined; there is a growing share of dissertations in International Politics on "other countries" and on "Europe"; finally, there is a clear tendency for journal articles with a comparative focus to increase in the last time-period.

More interesting differences between the country coverage of dissertations and of journal articles (and some interesting trends over time) emerge when we examine those dissertations which do not deal with the main countries. Dissertations in this category generally focus on a single country, on one of the "less important" countries of Western Europe. Very few of the dissertations on Western Europe are comparative in structure and deal with two or more countries. A more comparative thrust has developed recently, however, in the journal literature on Western Europe. Almost one-third of all of the articles on Western Europe which appeared in the mainstream journals surveyed between 1967 and 1971 are comparative. Many of these articles utilize advanced quantitative methodologies.

A quarter of these articles deal exclusively with intra-European comparison; three-quarters deal with European and non-European countries--most often with the United States. This, of course, represents a major new tendency in research on Western Europe, a tendency which has not yet become visible at the dissertation level but which undoubtedly will become so in the near future.[2]

We were able to survey the changing pattern over time of data sophistication and usage in journal articles on Western Europe. Each article was evaluated as to the most sophisticated use of data. The findings are presented in Table 2/11. In the 1940s and 1950s, there were no articles that included data sophistication above summary statistics for

single variables--averages, rates, ratios, percent of total, etc. By 1969-70, however, levels of sophistication have changed radically. (See TABLE 2/11. SOPHISTICATION OF DATA: ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE ON WESTERN EUROPE.) The percentage of articles at levels 1 through 4 (that is, those which present no quantitative data or which utilize only a single variable) falls from 100% in 1948, 1949, 1958 and 1959 to 81.8% in 1967, 80.0% in 1968, 59.3% in 1969, 46.2% in 1970 and 47.3% in 1971.

Almost a third of the dissertations we surveyed and about a fifth of the journal articles were in the field of international relations. The relative decline of Western European dissertations in International Politics against those in Comparative Politics can be seen in Table 2/10, from 1948/49, when the two subfields seem approximately equal, to 1966/72, when the number of Comparative dissertations is more than three times the number of those in International. Dissertations and journal articles in International in general deal with foreign, military, defense and strategic policies. There are quite a few case studies of relations among countries or groups of countries, some dealing with events in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and, from the title at any rate, indistinguishable from similar work in Diplomatic History. The concentration of research in this subfield on the major countries and "Europe" is about the same as in Comparative, although, as noted above, interest in "Europe" increases significantly, particularly at the end of the 1960s.

An examination of dissertation titles, though hardly sufficient to support an analysis of research trends, does provide important clues as to the general orientation of research carried on in different time periods. Dissertations in progress in 1948/49 on the domestic politics of the four major Western European nations are overwhelmingly institutional in focus. They deal primarily with central governments, with constitutions,

TABLE 2/11

SOPHISTICATION OF DATA: ARTICLES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE ON WESTERN EUROPE*

	1948	1949	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969**	1970**	1971**
1. No Quantitative Data Presented	53.3% (8)	61.9% (13)	32.0% (8)	44.4% (8)	36.4% (4)	20.0% (1)	11.1% (3)	26.9% (7)	15.8% (6)
2. Simple Statement of Amount	20.0 (3)	19.1 (4)	42.9 (9)	22.2 (4)	9.1 (1)	20.0 (1)	18.5 (5)	3.9 (1)	13.2 (5)
3. Single Variable Frequency Counts	6.7 (1)	4.8 (1)	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	3.7 (1)	-0-	2.7 (1)
4. Summary Statistics for Single Variable	20.0 (3)	14.3 (3)	38.1 (8)	33.3 (6)	36.4 (4)	40.0 (2)	25.4 (7)	15.4 (4)	15.8 (6)
5. Two Variables Cross-Classification	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	7.4 (2)	19.2 (5)	5.3 (2)
6. Two Variable Correlations or Associations Measures	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	18.2 (2)	-0-	3.7 (1)	11.5 (3)	26.3 (10)
7. Partially, Standardizing	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	20.0 (1)	7.4 (2)	7.7 (2)	13.2 (5)
8. Multivariate Analysis, Factor & Causal Analysis	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	11.1 (3)	15.4 (4)	7.9 (3)
9. Formal Model Building, Simulations Studies	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	11.1 (3)	-0-	-0-
N =	100% (15)	100% (21)	100% (25)	100% (18)	100% (11)	100% (5)	100% (27)	100% (26)	100% (38)

* Articles on twentieth century only.

** 1969, 1970 and 1971 include Comparative Politics and Comparative Political Studies.

public administration and with legal systems. There is an important emphasis on local government and on political parties and party systems.

Twenty years later, there is far less interest in political institutions and public administration. In dissertations completed between 1966 and 1972 on the domestic politics of the four major countries of Western Europe, the major focus of research interest is political parties and party systems. Almost one-third of all dissertations in Comparative Politics on the four countries deal with parties. Certain variations exist among the countries. Research on parties in Germany and the United Kingdom tends to focus to a greater degree on party systems, party leaders and members of the legislature, and on relations between the parties and other institutions and organizations; while research on parties in France and Italy is much more concerned with party ideologies, changing patterns of belief and policies, and with mass movements associated with the parties. Interest tends to be directed particularly toward the politics of the Left in these two countries.

After parties and party systems, the next largest grouping of dissertations focuses on mass political behavior, a category of research entirely absent from the 1948/49 listing. About 20% of the dissertations fall into the category. Somewhat more than 10% of the dissertations deal with political institutions, and about the same number focus on interests and interest group politics. A still smaller group is directed toward research on "subnational units"--urban, local, and regional politics.

Differences in research foci among the four countries are fairly difficult to distinguish from titles alone--if indeed substantial differences exist at all. Parties constitute the largest grouping of dissertations in each country, but the weight of this group is much heavier in France and, in particular, in Italy where about 50% of the dissertations

deal with parties, party ideologies, "the Left" and so on. In Germany, dissertations on mass political behavior and on political institutions rank almost as high as those on parties. In the United Kingdom, there is rather a greater share of work on interest groups, on subnational politics, and on various aspects of "public policy."

Journal articles follow similar patterns. Articles written in the late 1940s deal heavily with institutions, although there is a substantial component in this group that deals with German reconstruction. Articles with an institutional focus fall off sharply in the 1950s and 60s. As in the case of dissertations on domestic politics, the largest category of journal articles is political parties and party systems, accounting for more than a quarter of the articles. More than 16% of the articles deal with political behavior, but only 2 were written before 1969.

Journal articles and dissertations on Western Europe in the late 1960s differ with regard to the role of comparative studies. We identified few comparative dissertations completed during this period. There were several dealing with foreign relations between European states or with various aspects of political integration in Europe (and in Benelux and Scandinavia) but, so far as could be determined from the titles, only about a dozen dissertations were truly comparative. The largest group of these deal with political parties (e.g., with third parties, the role of opposition parties, and relations between domestic Communist parties and the Soviet Union); several were concerned with students and student movements; and others dealt, for example, with political socialization, elites, social welfare policies, and religious instruction in the public schools. Journal articles were similar in theme, although there is a substantially greater weight on political behavior and the use of survey research techniques in the list of articles.

4. ECONOMICS

We were aware when planning this study that most of the research on contemporary Western European society and politics was carried on by historians and political scientists, and the largest share of our efforts were directed toward an examination of those two disciplines. We did not expect to find a very high degree of interest in Western Europe in other disciplines of the social sciences, and designed our inquiry accordingly. Thus, a survey of journal literature was not carried out in Economics as in the first two sections of the study. The data and conclusion in this section are based on an examination of dissertations alone.

In fact, we found a rather greater interest in Western Europe among young economists than we had anticipated, although the role of Western Europe in terms of the entire discipline remains very limited.

The role of area oriented research in Economics tends to be rather different than in the other disciplines. Because the level of abstraction and generalization is often considerably higher in Economics, even at the dissertation level, data from particular cases, nations or world areas are more likely to be utilized to support the development or testing of theories or models than in other disciplines, and the economist is less likely to be interested in the case, nation or area in itself than the historian or political scientist. A majority of dissertations in Economics have no areal content or focus. Almost 60% of the dissertations completed during the period we surveyed fall into this category. The largest grouping of dissertations with any area focus are those which deal with North America, particularly the United States. Together these two groups account for the vast majority of all dissertations completed in Economics, ranging in the years covered by our survey from a low of 80% of all dissertations completed in 1969 to a high of 94% in 1948. (See TABLE 2/12 . DISSERTATIONS IN ECONOMICS BY WORLD AREA, 1948/49, 1958/59, AND 1967-1971.) The

TABLE 2/12

DISSERTATIONS IN ECONOMICS BY WORLD AREA, 1948/49, 1958/59, AND 1967-1971

	1948	1949	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Africa	-0-	-0-	4 (1.0)	2 (0.7)	10 (1.7)	12 (1.8)	8 (1.1)	12 (1.2)	16 (1.8)
Asia-East	2 (1.6)	3 (1.8)	5 (1.3)	1	12 (2.0)	9 (1.3)	12 (1.7)	15 (1.5)	17 (1.9)
Asia-South	-0-	3 (1.8)	12 (3.1)	6 (2.0)	20 (3.4)	17 (2.5)	23 (3.2)	16 (1.6)	23 (2.6)
Asia-Southeast	-0-	1	2 (0.5)	3 (1.0)	4 (0.7)	3 (0.4)	3 (0.4)	1	4 (0.4)
Eastern Europe	1 (0.8)	3 (1.8)	9 (2.3)	9 (3.0)	8 (1.4)	5 (0.7)	6 (0.8)	12 (1.2)	5 (0.6)
Latin America	2 (1.6)	3 (1.8)	7 (1.8)	9 (3.0)	25 (4.2)	45 (6.6)	42 (5.8)	47 (4.9)	45 (5.1)
Middle East	-0-	1	14 (3.6)	4 (1.3)	11 (1.9)	19 (2.8)	15 (2.1)	19 (2.0)	24 (2.7)
North America	35 (31.2)	56 (33.3)	94 (24.5)	100 (33.5)	134 (33.8)	145 (21.4)	148 (20.1)	196 (20.4)	185 (21.2)
Western Europe	1 (0.8)	3 (1.8)	20 (5.2)	5 (1.7)	31 (5.3)	23 (3.4)	23 (3.2)	33 (3.4)	25 (2.9)
Other	-0-	2 (1.2)	1	2 (0.7)	7 (1.2)	8 (1.1)	8 (1.1)	8 (0.8)	9 (1.0)
Comparative Across Areas	1 (0.8)	3 (1.8)	4 (1.0)	3 (1.0)	11 (1.9)	5 (0.7)	14 (1.9)	13 (1.3)	9 (1.0)
Non-Areal	70 (62.5)	90 (53.6)	213 (55.6)	154 (51.7)	315 (53.6)	386 (57.1)	414 (57.8)	590 (61.3)	511 (58.5)
N =	112 (100%)	168 (100%)	383 (100%)	298 (100%)	588 (100%)	676 (100%)	716 (100%)	962 (100%)	873 (100%)

percentage of dissertations utilizing data from North America has declined gradually during the period surveyed, while the weight of dissertations based on the developing areas of the world has increased. About 5% of the dissertations in Economics completed in 1948-49 utilized data from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Ten years later, the figure increased to 6.6%, and then climbed to 14% of the 1967-71 total.

Dissertations based on Western Europe have been more stable, accounting for 1.3% of the total in 1948-49, 3.4% in 1958-59, and 3.6% in 1967-71. A considerably greater number of dissertations were completed between 1967 and 1971 on both Latin America and Asia than Western Europe: 204 on Latin America (5.4% of the total for those years), 179 on Asia (4.7%), compared with 135 on Western Europe (3.6%). In fact, while the actual number of dissertations on Latin America and the Middle East increased sharply during this period (and those on Africa and Asia increased modestly), the actual number of dissertations on Western Europe fell between 1967 and 1971.

Table 2/13 shows the breakdown of dissertations in Economics by subfield in 1958-59 and in 1969/71, and Table 2/14 shows the distribution of dissertations by world area in each of these subfields for the same two time-periods.

The number of subfields in which dissertations were listed in the American Economic Review was reduced from 15 to 10 in the 1960s and, thus, direct comparison between the two periods is difficult. We have attempted to compensate for this change in the arrangement of Table 2/13. (See TABLE 2/13. ECONOMICS DISSERTATIONS BY SUBFIELDS, 1958-59 AND 1969-71.) Certain changes in the distribution of dissertations among subfields emerge quite clearly in Table 2/13. There is a considerably greater emphasis in the later period on statistics (although, relative to the entire discipline it is still modest) and on "Welfare, Consumer, and Urban

TABLE 2/13

ECONOMICS DISSERTATIONS BY SUBFIELDS, 1958-59 AND 1969-71

1958-1959 CATEGORY:			1969-1971 CATEGORY:		
1. General Economics; Methodology	1.0%	(7)	1. General Economics; Theory; History; Systems	6.6%	(168)
2. Price & Allocation Theory; Income & Employment Theory; Related Empirical Studies; History of Economic Thought	7.4	(50)			
3. Economic History; Economic Development; National Economics	9.6	(65)	2. Economic Growth; Development; Fluctuations; Planning	12.5	(320)
4. Statistical Methods; Econometrics; Social Accounting	1.2	(8)	3. Statistics	5.1	(131)
5. Economic Systems; Planning & Reform; Cooperation	0.8	(6)			
6. Business Fluctuations	2.9	(20)			
7. Money, Credit & Banking; Monetary Policy; Consumer Finance; Mortgage Credit	6.6	(45)	4. Monetary & Fiscal Theory & Institutions	10.5	(267)
8. Public Finance; Fiscal Policy	7.2	(49)			
9. International Economics	8.7	(59)	5. International	8.4	(215)
10. Business Finance; Investments & Securities Markets Insurance	6.8	(46)	6. Administration; Business Finance; Marketing; Accounting	17.8	(455)
11. Business Organization; Managerial Economics; Marketing, Accounting	11.7	(79)			
12. Industrial Organization; Government & Business; Industry Studies	9.0	(61)	7. Industrial Organization; Technological Change; Industry Studies	9.7	(248)
13. Land Economics; Agricultural Economics; Economic Geography; Housing	16.5	(112)	8. Agriculture; Natural Resources	10.3	(264)
14. Labor Economics	8.7	(59)	9. Manpower; Labor; Population	9.9	(253)
15. Population; Welfare Programs; Standards of Living	1.6	(11)	10. Welfare Programs; Consumer Economics; Urban & Regional Economics	9.0	(230)
	100%	(677)		100%	(2551)

and Regional Economics." Dissertations dealing with Business and Administration still form the single largest group, but the relative weight of this subfield seems to have declined, as has the relative weight of "Land and Agricultural Economics." By and large, however, the distribution of dissertations among subfields seems to have remained fairly stable from the late 1950s through the early 1970s. The area distribution of dissertations within each subfield seems to have been generally stable also. (See TABLE 2/14. ECONOMICS DISSERTATIONS: AREALITY OF SUBFIELDS, 1958/59 AND 1969/71.) Dissertations with no areal focus are most predominant, of course, in the categories of "General Economics, Theory, History, and Systems" and Business and Administration--although a relatively large share of the dissertations based on Western Europe (those dealing with European economic history) are also found in the first category. Most dissertations focussing on the developing nations deal with "Economic Growth, Development, Fluctuations and Planning", and the largest number of dissertations on Western Europe are in "International Economics." Dissertations utilizing data from North America (that is, from the United States) are heaviest in the more policy-oriented subfields--Agricultural, Manpower-Labor, and Welfare, Consumer, and Urban-Regional Economics.

The comparison between the two time-periods indicates primarily the relative decrease in the weight of dissertations on North America in almost every subfield and the corresponding increase in the weight of dissertations on developing areas in most subfields. Yet, the combined weight of the non-areal dissertations and those on North America remains predominant throughout the discipline. In 1969/71, these two accounted for 50% or less of the dissertations completed in only two subfields, Economic Growth and International Economics, which together accounted for only about 21% of all dissertations. In all of the others, dissertations

TABLE 2/14

ECONOMICS DISSERTATIONS: AREALITY OF SUBFIELDS, 1958/59 AND 1969/71

Categories		Non-Areal	North America	Developing	Western Europe	Other	TOTAL	
1, 2	(1958/59)	79%	16%	2%	2%	2%	100%	(N= 57)
1	(1969/71)	74	15	2	7	2	100	(168)
3, 5	(1958/59)	17%	20%	44%	7%	13%	100%	(N= 71)
2	(1969/71)	24	9	57	3	7	100	(320)
4	(1958/59)	62%	12%*	12%*	12%*	-0-	100%	(N= 8)
3	(1969/71)	73	19	4	1	3	100	(131)
7, 8	(1958/59)	51%	33%	12%	3%	1%	100%	(N= 94)
4	(1969/71)	65	22	9	2	2	100	(267)
9	(1958/59)	37%	27%	17%	17%	2%	100%	(N= 59)
5	(1969/71)	33	17	25	13	12	100	(215)
6, 10, 11	(1958/59)	76%	20%	1%	1%	1%	100%	(N=145)
6	(1969/71)	88	7	4	-0-	1	100	(455)
12	(1958/59)	59%	34%	-0-	-0-	6%	100%	(N= 61)
7	(1969/71)	69	20	4	2	5	100	(248)
13	(1958/59)	43%	39%	11%	1%	6%	100%	(N=112)
8	(1969/71)	41	39	17	1	2	100	(264)
14	(1958/59)	56%	37%	2%	3%	2%	100%	(N= 59)
9	(1969/71)	59	31	5	3	2	100	(253)
15	(1958/59)	64%	27%	9%*	-0-	-0-	100%	(N= 11)
10	(1969/71)	59	38	2	-0-	1	100	(230)

Total number of dissertations, 1958/59 = 677
Total number of dissertations, 1969/71 = 2551

* - N=1

with no areal focus or which focus on North America account for more than 85% of the dissertations completed--and in half of these, they account for more than 90%.

Dissertations utilizing data from Western Europe amount to only a very small share of the total number of dissertations in Economics--135 out of a total of 3,815 dissertations completed between 1967 and 1971. Yet this figure in itself is greater than the number of dissertations completed during the same years in History on Western Europe since 1914, and half of the number of those on Western Europe completed in Political Science.

As in Political Science, most dissertation research in Economics on Western Europe deals with the contemporary period, since the Second World War. A certain amount of research is carried out in Economic History on the industrialization and economic development of Western Europe, but this does not amount to a very substantial share of the work on Western Europe. Unlike Political Science and History, however, dissertations in Economics on Western Europe are not so highly concentrated by country. One country, the United Kingdom, does receive much more attention than any other. About 22% of the dissertations on Western Europe completed between 1967 and 1971 deal with the United Kingdom. But no other country, except "Europe", accounts for as much as 10% of the total. In History, the four major European countries were the subject of some 90% of the dissertations on Western Europe since 1914, but the corresponding figure for Economics is less than 40%. More importantly, out of a total of 135 dissertations, 4 or more were written on 9 different countries. There is also a relatively greater interest in "Europe" in Economics than in the other disciplines surveyed. Included in this category are studies of European economic development, the European Economic Community, and several dissertations on Euro-dollars and on trade between Eastern and Western Europe. Finally, as would be expected given the concentration of Western European dissertations in the International Economic subfield, there is a relatively high per-

centage of dissertations that compare various aspects of economic development and trade policies among the nations of Western Europe or between these nations and the United States. (See TABLE 2/15 . COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS IN ECONOMICS ON WESTERN EUROPE.)

The content of dissertations in Economics on Western Europe varies widely--rather more than in Political Science or History. We found it difficult to aggregate the titles in a more meaningful fashion than by subfield. Instead, a simple listing of the titles of the dissertations on Western Europe completed in a single year--1969--illustrates the range of subject.

TABLE 2/16

DISSERTATIONS IN ECONOMICS ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1969

Sub-Field*	Title
1	Socialist Industrial Patterns
2.	A Case Study of the Netherlands, 1950-1966 Dutch Postwar Wages Policy An Income Planning Model: the Case of Greece Impact of Industrialization of Two Rural Communities in Western Ireland
3.	An Econometric Analysis of Demand Relationships in Greece
4.	Tax Harmonization in the Benelux Economic Union
5.	The Euro-Dollar System: an Analysis of its Credit Function and Impact on the International Financial Position of the US Incomes Policy, Costs, and the Balance of Payments: the case of Britain and Australia The Selective Employment Tax and the UK Balance of Payments Foreign Exchange Market Intervention; the Case of Sterling 1967
6.	Planning Patterns of Retail Locations by Public Authorities in Great Britain and France
7.	US and UK Ocean Transportation Rate Structures and Effective Natural Protection
8.	Trade Relations Between the EEC and COMECON: Implications for US Agricultural Trade Policy An Analysis of Projected Cereal Grain Production, Requirements and Trade, and Implications for Importing Nations, Major Exporters and the Fertilizer Industry in 1975, 1985 and 2000 Economics of the Adjustment of Swedish Dairy Farms
9.	The Industrial Relations System in Sweden with Suggestions Concerning Its Relevance to an African Nation, Ghana Manpower and Productivity in Austrian Industry An Economic Analysis of Labor Skill Requirements in Greece, 1954-65 British Unions and Economic Planning Wage Policy in the British Electric Supply Industry

* See above, Table 2/13.

TABLE 2/15

COUNTRY COVERAGE: DISSERTATIONS IN ECONOMICS ON WESTERN EUROPE

	1948-49	1958-59	1967-71
Austria	0	0	2
Belgium, Luxemborg	0	0	1
Denmark	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	1
France	0	3(12%)	7(5%)
Germany	0	1	12(9%)
Greece	1	1	12(9%)
Iceland	0	0	0
Ireland	0	0	5
Italy	1	3(12%)	5
Netherlands	0	1	4
Norway	0	1	3
Portugal	0	1	0
Spain	0	0	5
Sweden	0	1	6(4%)
Switzerland	1	0	0
United Kingdom	1	8	30(22%)
Other countries	0	0	1
"Europe"*	0	3(12%)	26(19%)
Comparative: within Europe	0	1	9(7%)
Comparative: US & Europe	0	1	6(4%)
N=	4	25	135

* includes dissertations on European economic development, the EEC, Euro-dollars, and trade between Eastern and Western Europe.

Several conclusions emerge from our inquiry. In the first place, economists have had little connection in the past with "Western European Studies." It has been difficult, for example, to identify graduate students in Economics who might be encouraged to apply for Foreign Area Fellowship grants for dissertation research in Europe or for Council for European Studies' Pre-Dissertation Awards, and it has been a problem to find more senior economists to sit on review panels for these programs. Dissertations, even those which utilize Western European data, are often designed primarily to test a model or conceptual framework rather than to widen our understanding of Western Europe. Thus, there is little incentive for economists to develop any particular area competency--for example, to develop language skills. There is, finally, a much lower expectation in Economics that a scholar will develop an "area identity." An historian, for example, who writes his dissertation on nineteenth-century France, who develops an entire set of skills and background of information relevant to France, is not likely to radically change his area of interest. We can be fairly certain that if his dissertation is on France, most of his research as a mature scholar will be on France, the courses he will teach will be on France, and even that his graduate students are most likely to do their dissertation research on France. In Political Science, the index of "area identity" will probably be somewhat lower. Scholars interested in Western Europe are more likely to develop research interests in other countries within the area and to deal with "disciplinary-general" questions, and, we suspect, their students are much more likely to do their dissertations on different countries within Western Europe or on different world areas. In Economics, however, the index must be very low, and we believe that there is probably much less likelihood that an economist will

be bound in the future by the area or nation that provided the data for his dissertation.

Yet, the sheer amount of work dealing with Western Europe done by economists is substantial, compared to other disciplines, and the subjects of this work, at least as revealed by the titles of dissertations we have identified, are often of great interest to other social scientists working on Western Europe.

5. ANTHROPOLOGY

Lists of completed dissertations in Anthropology were examined for two periods, 1954-58 and 1966-71. The total number of dissertations completed each year, which was relatively stable in the earlier period, increased rapidly in the latter. Between 1954 and 1958, completed dissertations rose only from 53 to 57. The number doubled, however, during the next 8 years, to 110 in 1966, and doubled again in 4 years, to 237 in 1970.

Table 5/1, which breaks down dissertations by world areas, shows that North America has been and continues to be the major area of interest to American anthropologists. About 30% of the dissertations completed throughout the entire period we have examined deal with this area. There is some evidence of a relative decline of interest in North America at the end of the 1960s, but the evidence remains inconclusive.

Dissertations on the developing areas of the world are prominent in Anthropology in the 1950s and 60s, although--unlike the other disciplines studied--the percentage of dissertations on these areas fell significantly from the first to the second period. Dissertations on Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East accounted for 37.3% of all dissertations completed between 1954 and 1958, while they made up only 27.6% of those completed between 1966 and 1971. When we look more closely, however, we see that most of this change took place in one area, Latin America. Dissertations on Africa, Asia and the Middle East declined only from 18.3% of the 1954-58 total to 16.8% of the 1966-71 total, but Latin American dissertations fell sharply from 19.0% to 10.8%.

The variance of the level of dissertation research on Latin America in Anthropology is greater than that on any world area in any other discipline surveyed, although we cannot explain why. Dissertations

on Latin America made up a quarter of all dissertations completed in 1954 and 1955, fell sharply during the next three years, continued at quite a low level in the middle 1960s, and then began to climb again in 1968. Dissertations on East Asia increased somewhat between the periods, and those on the Middle East decreased a bit, but in general the distribution of dissertations among world areas, aside from Latin America, has remained fairly stable over the entire period. (See TABLE 2/17. DISSERTATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY BY WORLD AREA.) Change in dissertation research in Anthropology has been most notable, not in the distribution of dissertations among world areas, but in the very substantial increase in dissertations with no area focus. Dissertations with a methodological or theoretical orientation accounted for 15.9% of those completed between 1954 and 1958 but increased to 28% of the 1966-71 total. In the last two years covered by our survey, the non-areal category was the largest category of dissertation research. This increase is due to the growth of applied anthropology which utilizes a broader social science base in its methodology and generally avoids reference to specific geographic areas. The one instance in which geographic specificity has been emphasized by applied anthropology is North America. It might have been expected that interest in North America, which in the past was largely focused upon studies of native American cultures, would have experienced a sharp decline by the middle of the 1960s. However, the area continued to account for about 30% of the annual output of dissertations because of the expansion of applied anthropology (including the study of urban cultures, labor-management analyses, and administrative operations studies) which particularly focused upon the United States.

TABLE 2/17

DISSERTATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY BY WORLD AREA

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Average '54-'58	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	Average '66-'71
Africa	1 (1.9)	1 (2.2)	2 (3.9)	5 (10.0)	4 (7.0)	(5.1)	4 (3.6)	8 (5.8)	8 (5.6)	9 (5.9)	15 (6.3)	15 (5.6)	(5.6)
Asia-East	1 (1.9)	0 (-0-)	3 (5.9)	0 (-0-)	1 (1.7)	(1.9)	5 (4.6)	4 (2.9)	6 (4.2)	5 (3.3)	12 (5.1)	11 (4.1)	(4.1)
Asia-South	4 (7.5)	0 (-0-)	4 (7.8)	2 (4.0)	3 (5.3)	(5.1)	2 (1.8)	8 (5.8)	6 (4.2)	1 (0.7)	9 (3.8)	9 (3.4)	(3.3)
Asia-Southeast	1 (1.9)	1 (2.2)	0 (-0-)	2 (4.0)	1 (1.7)	(1.9)	1 (0.9)	3 (2.2)	2 (1.4)	2 (1.3)	3 (1.3)	3 (1.1)	(1.3)
Eastern Europe	2 (3.8)	0 (-0-)	0 (-0-)	1 (2.0)	1 (1.7)	(1.5)	0 (-0-)	2 (1.5)	0 (-0-)	0 (-0-)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.1)	(0.6)
Latin America	13 (24.6)	12 (26.2)	6 (11.8)	8 (16.0)	10 (17.6)	(19.0)	5 (4.6)	7 (5.1)	20 (13.9)	21 (13.8)	33 (13.9)	27 (10.1)	(10.8)
Middle East/ West Africa	1 (1.9)	3 (6.5)	2 (3.9)	1 (2.0)	4 (7.0)	(4.3)	8 (7.3)	5 (3.6)	5 (3.5)	2 (1.3)	3 (1.3)	3 (1.1)	(2.5)
North America	17 (32.1)	14 (30.4)	16 (31.4)	17 (34.0)	10 (17.6)	(28.8)	41 (37.3)	46 (33.6)	43 (30.1)	54 (35.5)	64 (27.0)	78 (29.2)	(31.2)
Western Europe	2 (3.8)	3 (6.5)	2 (3.9)	0 (-0-)	1 (1.7)	(3.1)	4 (3.6)	4 (2.9)	6 (4.2)	2 (1.3)	11 (4.6)	2 (0.8)	(2.8)
Other Areas and Comparison Across Areas	5 (9.4)	4 (8.7)	8 (15.7)	7 (14.0)	15 (26.3)	(15.2)	9 (8.2)	17 (12.4)	15 (10.5)	21 (13.8)	18 (7.6)	22 (8.2)	(9.8)
Non-Areal	11 (11.4)	8 (17.4)	8 (15.7)	7 (14.0)	7 (12.3)	(15.9)	31 (28.2)	33 (24.1)	32 (22.4)	35 (23.0)	68 (28.7)	94 (35.2)	(28.0)
N =	53 (100%)	46 (100%)	51 (100%)	50 (100%)	57 (100%)	257	110 (100%)	137 (100%)	143 (100%)	152 (100%)	237 (100%)	267 (100%)	1046

The number of dissertations on Eastern and Western Europe is low and has been quite stable. Dissertations on Eastern Europe are particularly sparse(we identified only 10 dissertations on Eastern Europe out of the 1,303 covered in the survey) which reflects the difficulty of anthropological field-work in the area. Dissertations on Western Europe completed between 1966 and 1971 run at about the same level as those on the Middle East, and amount to barely a third of those on Latin America. Throughout the entire 11-year period, they account for about 3% of all completed dissertations.

The patterns of distribution of journal articles by world area are similar to those of dissertations. Articles from major anthropological journals were classified by world area for three time-periods, 1948-49, 1958-59, and 1966-71. (See TABLE 2/18. JOURNAL ARTICLES IN ANTHROPOLOGY BY WORLD AREA.) Articles on North America dropped sharply between 1948-49 and 1958-59, from 32.9% of the total to 22.3%. Articles on the developing nations rose slightly from 26.4% to 28.6%, and those with no area focus increased rather more--from 14.7% to 21.5% of the total. Unlike dissertations, however, the percentage of journal articles on North America rose slightly during the 1960s to average at about 25% of the total during the period, and articles without an area focus remained roughly stable--at about 18%. Articles on the developing areas of the world increased much more rapidly, from 23.4% of the 1966 total to 39.5% of the total in 1971. This increase was particularly noteworthy in articles dealing with Africa and Latin America. As in other disciplines, there are more journal articles on Western Europe than dissertations, although the number remains fairly low.

TABLE 2/18

JOURNAL ARTICLES IN ANTHROPOLOGY BY WORLD AREA

	1948	1949	'48-'49 av. %	1958	1959	'58-'59 av. %	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	'66-'71 av. %
Africa	3 (3.2)	8 (7.6)	5.4	16 (10.3)	9 (6.4)	8.3	9 (5.4)	7 (5.8)	12 (9.1)	8 (6.3)	9 (7.1)	17 (11.1)	7.7
Asia-East	6 (6.3)	5 (4.7)	5.5	2 (1.3)	2 (1.4)	1.4	7 (4.2)	3 (2.5)	6 (4.6)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	5 (3.2)	2.8
Asia-South	5 (5.3)	2 (1.9)	3.6	24** (15.4)	8 (5.7)	10.5	9 (5.4)	5 (4.2)	7 (5.3)	13 (10.2)	7 (5.5)	5 (3.3)	5.6
Asia-Southeast	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	0.5	1 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	0.3	2 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.5)	1 (0.8)	2 (1.6)	1 (0.7)	1.0
Eastern Europe	3 (3.2)	6 (5.7)	4.4	3 (1.9)	1 (0.7)	1.3	2 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	2 (1.3)	0.9
Latin America	7 (7.4)	9 (8.5)	7.9	12 (7.7)	10 (7.1)	7.4	11 (6.6)	12 (10.0)	9 (6.8)	17 (13.3)	26 (20.5)	25 (16.1)	12.1
Middle East/ West Africa	4 (4.2)	3 (2.8)	3.5	3 (1.9)	2 (1.4)	1.7	1 (0.6)	10 (8.3)	12 (9.1)	3 (2.3)	4 (3.2)	7 (4.7)	4.5
North America	33 (34.7)	33 (31.1)	32.9	31 (19.9)	35 (24.8)	22.3	39 (23.5)	23 (19.2)	31 (23.5)	33 (25.8)	43 (33.9)	42 (27.2)	25.5
Western Europe	4 (4.2)	5 (4.7)	4.5	12 (7.7)	10 (7.1)	7.4	16 (9.6)	7 (5.8)	10 (7.6)	9 (7.0)	6 (4.7)	7 (4.7)	6.6
Other Areas and Comparison Across Areas	11 (11.6)	24 (22.6)	17.1	26 (16.7)	27 (19.1)	17.9	36 (21.7)	29 (24.2)	14 (10.6)	18 (14.1)	17 (13.4)	15 (9.7)	14.6
Non-Areal	19 (20.0)	10 (9.4)	14.7	26 (16.7)	37 (26.2)	21.5	34 (20.5)	24 (20.0)	29 (22.0)	23 (18.0)	11 (8.7)	26 (18.7)	18.1
N =	95 (100%)	106 (100%)		156 (100%)	141 (100%)		166 (100%)	120 (100%)	132 (100%)	128 (100%)	127 (100%)	155 (100%)	

* Journals surveyed: American Anthropologist, Anthropological Quarterly, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Journal of American Folklore, and Human Organization.

** This figure represents a special publication in that year on South Asia.

Most research on Western Europe in Anthropology is concerned with a single country. Comparative research is relatively rare. As in the other disciplines we examined (except Economics), research is heavily concentrated on a few countries in Western Europe. Unlike the other disciplines, however, it is not clustered on the "major" countries. Research in Anthropology has not been centrally concerned with the larger and more industrialized nations of Western Europe, but rather with those in which the effects of political, economic and social modernization may be most clearly seen on more traditional societal structures. Research, therefore, has concentrated on such countries as Greece, Italy and Spain, and on the less advanced areas in the more developed nations, such as Brittany in France or parts of Bavaria in Germany. In particular, anthropologists have studied those nations surrounding the Mediterranean and have often come into Western Europe through prior work on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The pattern of research thus emphasizes those countries, relatively less important in recent history, which share the most characteristics with the developing nations of the world. (See TABLE 2/19. RESEARCH IN ANTHROPOLOGY ON WESTERN EUROPE: COUNTRY COVERAGE.)

Most of the research on Western Europe which was identified in this survey falls into two subfields of the discipline, social and cultural anthropology. More than half of the dissertations were village or community studies. "Persistance of Tradition in an Urban Greek Village", "Individual and Community in a Swiss Alpine Village", "Value Orientation and Social Status in a Portuguese Village", and "Rural Development in a Spanish Village" are representative titles. Many of the dissertation titles emphasize political, social, and economic change--"Sociopolitical

TABLE 2/19

RESEARCH IN ANTHROPOLOGY ON WESTERN EUROPE: COUNTRY COVERAGE

	Dissertations			Journal Articles			
	1954-58	1966-71	Total	1948-49 1958-59	1966-71	Total	Grand Totals
Austria	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Belgium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Denmark	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Finland	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
France	1	2	3	2	0	2	5
Germany	0	1	1	2	1	3	4
Greece	0	6	6	3	1	4	10
Iceland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	0	1	1	0	2	2	3
Italy	2	2	4	1	13	14	18
Luxembourg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norway	2	1	3	2	2	4	7
Portugal	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Spain	0	7	7	0	5	5	12
Sweden	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Switzerland	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
United Kingdom	2	2	4	3	4	7	11
Other Countries	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Non-Specific (Comparative, Regional, General)	1	1	2	2	5	7	9
Europe & U.S.				2	4	6	6
Total	8	29	37	19	35	57	94

Implications of the Rural Revolution in Benebarre, Spain" and the "Political Dimension of Social Change in Rural Catalonia" for example. Several dissertations deal with family structure, and several more with immigration and immigrant groups (e.g., "Sicilians in Sicily and in Australia: A Study of Social Change").

The content of the journal literature was similar. The only major difference was the much heavier weight of articles dealing with Folklore because of the inclusion of the Journal of American Folklore in the survey. Other than these articles (which focused primarily on Britain and Ireland), the journal articles in all three time-periods concentrated upon social structure and organization and upon social and cultural change, particularly in the more traditional societies of Western Europe--Italy, Greece, and Spain.

The volume on Anthropology in The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey (the BASS report), prepared in the late 1960s, observes that anthropologists have begun to work on large modern societies, and that this trend is likely to increase, bringing the social and cultural anthropologists more closely into contact with sociologists, economists and political scientists. Our examination suggests that this trend has not yet exerted a noticeable impact on research on Western Europe, insofar as can be determined at any rate from surveys of dissertations and journal articles. A recent increase of applications from graduate students in Anthropology for Foreign Area dissertation fellowships and CES pre-dissertation awards may be evidence of a growing interest in Western Europe at this level, although it is still too soon to tell. In any case, however, the primary research foci remain the more traditional, peasant societies of the area.

6. GEOGRAPHY

Given the highly developed state of Geography in Europe, we had expected to find a relatively strong interest in Europe in the United States. We were surprised, therefore, to learn that the level of interest in Western Europe among American geographers appears to be very low.

Of course, the number of dissertations completed in Geography is so small, compared to other disciplines studied, that analysis is difficult and our conclusions are at best tentative. Table 6/1 shows the distribution of dissertations in Geography among world areas. Dissertations on North America (i.e., the United States) form the largest area grouping and account for 68% of the dissertations completed between 1946 and 1950, 48% of those completed in 1958 and 1959, and 47% of those completed between 1967 and 1971. "Foreign Area" dissertations--dissertations on all world areas other than North America--account for about a third of the dissertations completed in the first period surveyed (although the numbers are so small as to make our analysis almost useless), and increased to about 40% of the 1958/59 total. The BASS report on Geography noted that "approximately 40% of geography dissertations listed in the early 1960s dealt with foreign areas...",[3] a finding which fits nicely with our own data for the 1950s. By the end of the 1960s, however, the percentage of foreign area dissertations had declined sharply, to rather less than 30% of the total. Dissertations on the developing areas of the world which accounted for about 32% of the total number of dissertations in 1958/59, made up only 19% of the dissertations completed between 1967 and 1971. As the weight of foreign area dissertations decreased during the later 1960s, there was a sharp increase in dissertations with a theoretical or methodological orientation having no area focus. These dissertations accounted for 12% of the total in 1958/59 (there were none

in the earliest period), and climbed to 24% of the total completed between 1967 and 1971. (See TABLE 2/20. DISSERTATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY BY WORLD AREA, 1946-50, 1958-59, AND 1967 THROUGH 1971.)

Table 6/2 shows similar patterns in the area distribution of journal articles and, in particular, shows the emergence of more theoretical and less area oriented concerns in the discipline. North America, the largest area focus of articles in 1948/49 (accounting for nearly 30% of the articles in that period), decreased by the late 1950s to rather less than a quarter of the total, and has remained at about that level in the 1960s. Articles on foreign areas which made up more than 52% of the total in 1948/49 declined slightly to 48% ten years later, and then much more sharply to less than a third of the total between 1967 and 1971. Journal articles with no area focus increased from less than 20% in 1948/49 to almost 30% in 1958/59, and then to close to 50% between 1969 and 1971. (See TABLE 2/21. JOURNAL ARTICLES IN GEOGRAPHY BY WORLD AREA.)

Western Europe seems to be a minor concern of American geographers, particularly in terms of dissertation research. Only about 2% of the dissertations completed between 1967 and 1971 deal with Western Europe. This is less than half the number completed during the same period on Africa (4.7% of the total), about a quarter of those on Latin America (8%), and less than those on Asia, Eastern Europe, or the Middle East. Despite the existence of a community of geographers in Western Europe whose state of the art is highly developed, the interest of American geographers in Western Europe seems remarkably low. The data from the survey of journal articles does not alter this conclusion. There is a substantially greater weight on Western Europe in the journals surveyed than in dissertations, but a greater proportion of these articles were written by Western European scholars than in any other set of journal articles on Western

TABLE 2/20

DISSERTATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY BY WORLD AREA, 1946-50, 1958-59, AND 1967-71

	1946-50	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Africa	-0-	2 (2.6)	2 (3.6)	3 (4.5)	7 (5.9)	8 (6.8)	8 (5.3)	4 (2.2)
Asia	2 (6.5)	7 (9.0)	3 (3.6)	2 (3.0)	7 (5.9)	4 (3.4)	4 (2.6)	8 (4.3)
Latin America	4 (12.9)	10 (12.8)	12 (21.8)	7 (10.5)	7 (5.9)	6 (5.1)	16 (10.5)	15 (8.2)
Middle East	-0-	2 (2.6)	5 (9.1)	1 (1.5)	3 (2.5)	-0-	7 (4.6)	6 (3.3)
Eastern Europe	-0-	-0-	1 (1.3)	-0-	6 (5.0)	5 (4.2)	4 (2.6)	6 (3.3)
Western Europe	4 (12.9)	4 (5.1)	-0-	4 (6.0)	4 (3.4)	3 (2.5)	1 (0.7)	2 (1.1)
North America	21 (67.7)	40 (51.3)	24 (43.6)	36 (53.7)	53 (44.5)	55 (46.6)	71 (46.7)	85 (46.2)
Other Areas or Across Areas	-0-	3	2 (2.6)	-0-	5 (4.2)	8 (6.8)	6 (3.9)	6 (3.3)
Non-Areal	-0-	10 (12.8)	6 (10.9)	14 (20.9)	27 (22.6)	29 (24.6)	35 (23.0)	52 (28.3)
N =	31 (100%)	78 (100%)	55 (100%)	67 (100%)	119 (100%)	118 (100%)	152 (100%)	184 (100%)

TABLE 2/21

JOURNAL ARTICLES IN GEOGRAPHY BY WORLD AREA

	1948	1949	1958	1959	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Africa	1 (1.4)	6 (8.3)	4 (5.3)	6 (7.1)	9 (9.6)	7 (6.4)	4 (2.9)	7 (4.6)	5 (3.8)
Asia	9 (12.2)	7 (9.7)	4 (5.3)	8 (9.5)	6 (6.4)	14 (12.9)	4 (2.9)	6 (4.0)	5 (3.8)
Latin America	9 (12.2)	8 (11.1)	5 (6.6)	4 (4.8)	4 (4.3)	3 (2.8)	7 (5.1)	6 (4.0)	5 (3.8)
Middle East	-0-	5 (6.9)	4 (5.3)	4 (4.8)	-0-	-0-	3 (2.2)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.8)
Eastern Europe	1 (1.4)	-0-	1 (1.3)	4 (4.8)	2 (2.1)	5 (4.6)	4 (2.9)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.5)
Western Europe	12 (16.2)	8 (11.1)	11 (14.5)	9 (10.7)	12 (12.8)	5 (4.6)	4 (2.9)	7 (4.6)	8 (6.0)
North America	25 (33.8)	19 (26.4)	17 (22.4)	18 (21.4)	20 (21.3)	23 (21.1)	36 (26.9)	30 (19.9)	35 (26.3)
Other Areas/ Comparative Across Areas	6 (8.1)	4 (5.6)	6 (7.9)	7 (8.3)	11 (11.7)	11 (10.1)	11 (8.1)	11 (7.3)	9 (6.8)
Non-Areal	11 (14.9)	15 (20.8)	24 (31.6)	24 (28.6)	30 (31.9)	41 (37.6)	63 (46.3)	78 (51.7)	63 (47.4)
N =	74 (100%)	72 (100%)	76 (100%)	84 (100%)	94 (100%)	109 (100%)	136 (100%)	151 (100%)	133 (100%)

Europe which we examined. In any case, however, the total is still small. In 1948/49, 14% of the articles were on Western Europe; in 1958/59, 12%; and in 1967-71, 6%.

This all amounts to a total of 22 dissertations on Western Europe completed during the 12 years covered by our dissertation survey and 75 articles in the 9 years of the journal survey. Of these, only 14 dissertations and 36 articles were written between 1967 and 1971.

A substantial share of the articles (about 14%)--but none of the dissertations--deal with periods before the twentieth century. Some others have a broad historical scope and cover several centuries. The majority of the articles, however, and all of the dissertations deal with the twentieth century and most of these with the period since 1945.

Most of the articles and dissertations completed since 1945 deal with a single country, although there is some comparative research as well as several articles on "Europe". Of those which focus on one country, about 40% deal with the United Kingdom. The rest are distributed fairly widely among the other European countries--particularly in comparison with History and Political Science. What this appears to indicate, however, is not so much the existence of wider interests in Europe as the lack of any very intensive interests other than in the United Kingdom.

An examination of the titles of these articles and dissertations proved very interesting. We found literally no research on physical geography, that part of the discipline which is most familiar to non-specialists and in which European geographers excel. Instead, titles ranged over a wide variety of subjects, although they were concentrated in the social, economic, and urban subfields of the discipline. Dissertations were found on regional and urban development, on urban

preservation, and on the social, economic and political implications of population movements. Articles clustered on land use and urban-regional geography, on population movements, and on the economic geography of individual industries, ports and so on; all of which seems to bring the work of geographers much more into the areas of interest of other social scientists with a central interest in Western Europe.

7. Sociology

Data on completed dissertations in Sociology were unavailable and, therefore, we could not carry out an analysis similar to that in other disciplines we surveyed. We believe that the number of dissertations in Sociology with a particular interest in Western Euorpe is likely to be low in any case.[4] Instead we made use of a questionnaire developed by the Council for European Studies for the purpose of expanding its contacts with American sociologists interested in Western Europe. The questionnaire was mailed initially to a small group of sociologists, many of whom had worked on Council programs, who were known to have interests in contemporary Western Europe. With the assistance of this group, a larger list was compiled. Eventually 47 questionnaires were completed and returned.

The questionnaire dealt with the role of contemporary Western Europe in American Sociology today. One of the most important insights into this question can be gained, however, not from the responses themselves but from the list of names of the respondents. Many of the sociologists who indicated interest in Western Europe are also well-known as leading non-area oriented sociologists. What this suggests is the much greater integration of European interests into the discipline than interests on non-Western areas. This, of course, is a pattern common to other disciplines as well--most notably to Political Science.

The first question in the survey asked respondents what they believed was the level of interest in Western Europe in the discipline. It also asked if they felt that there had been a tendency in recent years for the level of interest to increase or to decline.

TABLE 2/22

INTEREST IN WESTERN EUROPE AMONG AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS

Tendency of Interest	Levels of Interest: Low	Moderate	High	Level Not Indicated	Total
Increasing	7	1	2	6	16
Stable	17	0	0	0	17
Decreasing	3	0	1	0	4
Tendency Not Indicated	5	0	0	0	5
Total	32	1	3	6	42

Of the 47 questionnaires returned to the Council, 42 had responses relevant to the first question. The responses show clearly that the respondents believe overwhelmingly that general interest in Western Europe throughout the discipline is low. Only 2 respondents indicated that they believed current interest to be high, and 1 felt that interest was moderate. (Six of the 42 did not indicate the current level of interest.) The responses on whether interest was rising or falling were equally divided between those indicating it was stable and those which indicated it was increasing, although most of those who replied that current interest was low also indicated that it was stable.

Several respondents who indicated that they believed interest in Western Europe to be low and stable, or even low and increasing at the present time, also observed that there had been a longer term drop in concern with Western Europe in American Sociology. This was particularly the case, they said, since World War II. The classical tradition in

sociological thought had been cast in terms of the European historical, social and political environment. One respondent noted that,

> Much of early American Sociology was informed by a lively sense of the contrast between the United States and European society, since the early generation of American sociologists included men who were far from provincial, who had traveled widely, and who had read deeply in the European tradition.

With the rise of a particularly American school in the discipline, however, the European heritage has tended to diminish sharply, much in the same manner that traditional political theory diminished in importance in Political Science with the rise of a more behaviorally oriented, empirical approach within the discipline. The European orientation, or at least character, of American sociology was reinforced by the immigration of European scholars to the United States before and after the Second World War, but as time has passed, the influence of these individuals has also tended to lessen.

The responses confirm our initial impression that the level of interest in Western Europe in Sociology is low at the present time. The responses also indicate, however, that there is a substantial belief that interest in Western Europe is increasing or is likely to increase in the near future.

This view of the level of interest in Western Europe in Sociology is supported by a survey of articles published in the American Sociological Review, the journal of the American Sociological Association. The ASR represents the mainstream research interests in the discipline, and about 85% of the articles published in the journal over a seven-year period were either non-areal in focus or dealt with North America. The largest share of the remaining articles--about 6.4%--deal with Western Europe.

considerably more than deal with all of the non-western areas. The data support our view that American sociologists who work on Western Europe do tend to be more integrated into the discipline than those who work on other areas of the world, but also that the total number of these sociologists is quite low. (See TABLE 2/23. ASR ARTICLES BY WORLD AREA, 1966-1972.)

The second part of the CES questionnaire dealt with the reasons which explained the level of interest. They were asked to evaluate the degree to which certain "disciplinary" and "support" factors have tended to inhibit scholarly interest in Western Europe in Sociology. (See Table 2/24.) As we would expect, some 90% of the respondents indicated that contemporary Europe was not a "mainstream" interest in the discipline, and 39% indicated that this was a severe problem in encouraging greater interest in Europe. The higher priority placed on more abstract work in Sociology was not viewed as nearly so serious an inhibition. Indeed, 43% of the respondents said that this was not a problem at all. A large majority--85%--indicated that the greater emphasis in Sociology on developing areas also inhibited interest in Western Europe to a degree, but many observed that this factor seemed to be declining in importance at the present time.

The responses on the support factors are more difficult to interpret. Clearly, many of the respondents feel that raising funds for research and travel is a serious problem; fewer feel that a lack of information about data resources or about what European sociologists are doing is as great a problem.

Responses on languages and language training, however, were more revealing, showing a definite polarization of opinion which was reinforced

TABLE 2/23

ASR ARTICLES BY WORLD AREA, 1966-1972

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Total
Asia	2	1	-0-	1	-0-	1	-0-	15 (4.2%)
Latin America	2	2	2	-0-	1	1	-0-	
Middle East	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	1	-0-	
Eastern Europe	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-.	-0-	2
Western Europe	4 (6)	7 (12)	1 (2)	1 (2)	3 (6)	3 (5)	4 (10)	23 (6.4%)
North America	15 (24)	26 (45)	10 (22)	7 (14)	12 (25)	21 (38)	19 (49)	110 (30.6%)
Other areas	-0-	-0-	2	1	1	-0-	1	5
Comparison across areas	5	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	6
Non-Areal	34 (54)	22 (37)	31 (67)	39 (78)	30 (63)	27 (49)	13 (33)	196 (54.6%)
Total N= (100%)	63 (100%)	58 (100%)	46 (100%)	50 (100%)	48 (100%)	55 (100%)	39 (100%)	359 (100%)

TABLE 2/24

FACTORS INHIBITING INTEREST IN WESTERN EUROPE IN SOCIOLOGY

	Severe Problem	Problem	No Problem	N=
Disciplinary Factors:				
1. Contemporary Europe not a "mainstream" interest in the discipline	16 (39)	21 (51)	4 (10)	41 (100%)
2. Higher priority put on more abstract work	7 (17)	16 (40)	17 (43)	40 (100)
3. Developing areas emphasized more	12 (29)	23 (56)	6 (15)	41 (100)
4. Other				
Non-Disciplinary (Support) Factors:				
1. Need to obtain or difficulty in obtaining language training	13 (33)	17 (43)	9 (23)	39 (100%)
2. Difficulty of obtaining funding for travel or research in Europe	18 (46)	18 (46)	3 (8)	39 (100)
3. Lack of information about European data sources	8 (20)	23 (59)	8 (20)	39 (100)
4. Lack of information about what European sociologists are doing	12 (31)	19 (49)	8 (20)	39 (100)
5. Others				

in written comments which supplemented the questionnaire. A third of all respondents indicated that a lack of language skills and/or difficulties in acquiring language training was a problem which severely inhibited research and study on Western Europe. Several respondents emphasized that the decline of language skills was the most important inhibition of all, and sharply criticized graduate programs for eliminating language requirements. A quarter of the responses, however, noted that languages were not a problem, and several suggested that sociological research was not dependent upon language skills. Thus, even among this group of American sociologists, all of whom have expressed interests in Western Europe, there is evidence of a clear division over the role of foreign language skills in training and research.

As we have noted, the respondents to the CES questionnaire overwhelmingly agreed that the current level of interst in Western Europe in Sociology was low. The responses to the questionnaire and from additional comments made by the respondents suggest several general reasons for this low level of interest:

1. <u>The provinciality of American Sociology and sociologists</u>. Several respondents noted that American Sociology was indeed area-study oriented, although it was oriented almost exclusively to the study of a single world area, North America (or, indeed, to the United States). The parochiality of American social science, which is a general problem, is most noteworthy in the discipline of Sociology.
2. <u>The generally low level of language skills of American sociologists, particularly the younger scholars</u>. A respondent noted "American [sociologists] typically lack

the ability to read other languages with facility. In any international group a discussion immediately shifts to English as soon as an American appears." As we have seen, however, this issue provoked substantial disagreement, even among our respondents. Some claimed it was the most important problem of all, and tended to link this to the first issue. That is, the problem was not so much the unavailability of language training opportunities as the unwillingness of sociologists to learn foreign languages. This group tended to see the decline in language requirements for graduate students as particularly harmful. Others, however, placed much less weight on language needs. At least one respondent suggested that quantitative approaches made substantial language skills unnecessary for sociological research.

3. A primary concern in foreign area research with questions relating to the modernization process in countries which present the greatest contrast to our own. Several respondents noted that, where American Sociology has been interested in foreign areas, this interest had generally involved matters dealing with modernization, and that there had been little concern with problems or issues relating to "modernity", outside, that is, of the United States.

4. Most respondents indicated that the role of theory in the discipline and the image of the discipline itself as the "generalizing science", did not in themselves

inhibit interest in Europe, but several observed that this had tended to result in the neglect of the humanistic and historical dimensions of the study of society, particularly at the graduate training level, which are particularly important for successful research into other areas of the world--especially Western Europe.

5. Other reasons included:

-- The U.S. is a vanguard society toward which European societies will evolve. Therefore, this society poses the most important issues of theoretical interest which should be studied;

-- European sociologists are adequately studying their own societies and need no help from Americans;

-- There is really nothing of interest to study in Europe.

Most of the respondents who indicated that they believed interest in Western Europe was increasing identified this with the growing interest in Comparative Sociology in the discipline. Others observed that interest in Europe at the present time was greatest in the subfield of political sociology. One respondent went much further, and reviewed in detail the subfields of the discipline and the interest in Europe in each. He wrote:

> My information may be insufficient, but I have the feeling that one of the few areas in which sociologists in America have done research and include in the teaching European problems and materials is the field of political sociology. The study of political parties and elections stimulated by S. M. Lipset and the Committee on Political Sociology has led a number of students to do dissertations and research in and on Western Europe. The availability of data from national sample surveys for secondary

analysis both produced by the National Survey Research organizations in Europe and by American scholars in collaboration with Europeans like the Almond and Verba Civic Culture Study, the work of Philip Converse, and Donald Stokes at Michigan have contributed to this interest.

Another area in which considerable collaborative cross national research has developed is the field of community power studies. Professor Terry Clark of the University of Chicago has been working closely with Professor Wiatr from Poland with an International Sociological Association committee that has organized conferences in Europe in which Americans have participated. Some of the students of political parties have also become interested in European local politics, particularly Sidney Tarrow and Mark Kesselman, but few are sociologists except Michael Aiken.

The problems of multilingualism have interested some American scholars in the sociology of language field. ... Work in this field is also lively in Canada, particularly at the University of Laval in Quebec City where a center on bilingualism recently organized an international conference on multilingualism and politics. ...

There are a number of scholars who have worked in the field of comparative industrial sociology. A number of them were involved in an inter-university research project largely directed by Rhinehard Bendix of the University of California that resulted in a large number of publications. ... Even when he is not strictly speaking a sociologist, Professor Gailenson of the University of California had a considerable impact on a number of students of trade unions and labor movements in Europe. A scholar who worked on the borderline between the history of labor and a sociological analysis of protest movements was Gunther Roth, now at the University of Washington in Seattle, who probably is inspiring some students to do further work on Europe. Among the more traditional scholars in the field of industrial sociology, Professor Form of the University of Michigan has carried out research on workers in the automobile industry in Detroit and Turin, Italy, in collaboration with Italian scholars. Provessor William Glazer of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia initiated years ago a comparative collaborative project with European industrial sociologists, like Heinz Hartman, Wildener, and others. ...

Another area in which some research has been done by Americans in Europe and in collaboration with Europeans is a study of entrepreneurial elites. David Granick of the Department of Economics of the University of Wisconsin,

Madison, did a book on the European executive. Two of my students have done monographs on business elites comparable to my own work on the Spanish. Professor Harry Mackler of the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, has published a book on the Portuguese industrial elite and Professor Dean Savage of Queens College of the City University of New York is completing his research on French businessmen as part of a comparative study in which Paolo Farneti of the University of Turin did his research on the Piedmontese industrial elite. On the other hand the research on political and administrative elites has been carried out mainly by political scientists. I am not familiar with comparable work on intellectual, scientific and religious elites in Europe. ...

Sociology of religion is unfortunately a very neglected field of research by American sociologists and as far as I know, no major study has been done on European religion and society. ...

The study of rural Europe has, so far as I know, been the monopoly of the social anthropologists, particularly a distinguished group working on Mediterranean societies.

Another field which has a tradition of concern with Europe is comparative education since the early studies directed at Teachers College, particularly by Professor Kandel and others. I do not follow the Harvard Review of Education nor the publications of Teachers College, nor the Journal of Educational Sociology but I assume that there might be interest in that field among sociologists. ...

8. Conclusions

The initial objective in this part of the study was to indicate the level of interest in Western Europe in the social sciences--interest, that is, expressed in terms of completed research efforts rather than in terms of self-identification. The level of interest in Western Europe, as measured by completed dissertations and mainstream journal articles, varies widely among the disciplines surveyed. A substantial proportion of research in History deals with Western Europe. In Geography, Anthropology and Sociology (though we lack quantitative indicators for the last discipline), interest in Western Europe is much lower. There is somewhat more done in Economics, and considerably more in Political Science--although not nearly as much in Political Science as in History.

In Table 2/25, we have taken the total figures for dissertations completed in these disciplines between 1967 and 1971 and divided them into world areas. Of the 11,177 dissertations which we categorized, 1,001 (8.9%) dealt with Western Europe, 692 (6.2%) with Latin America, 473 (4.2%) with Asia, 382 (3.4%) with Africa, and 262 (2.3%) with the Middle East. (See TABLE 2/25. DISSERTATIONS BY DISCIPLINE AND BY WORLD AREA, 1967-1971.

It is important to look rather more closely at the Western European total. Of the 1,001 dissertations identified in the survey, 553 (about 55%) are in History. The disciplinary spread of dissertations on Western Europe is significantly more uneven than on any other world area. (The closest is Africa, where about 45% of the dissertations are in Political Science.) About half of the dissertations in History (279 of 553) deal with Western Europe before 1814; only about a fifth deal with Western Europe since 1914.

TABLE 2/25

DISSERTATIONS BY DISCIPLINE AND BY WORLD AREA, 1967-1971*

	Total Dissertations	Western Europe	Latin America	Asia	Africa	Middle East	% on Western Europe
History	1,893	553	91	112	64	21	29.2%
Political Science	3,783	270	233	65	171	110	7.1
Economics	3,815	135	204	179	58	88	3.5
Anthropology	1,046	29	113	92	59	26	2.8
Geography	640	14	51	25	30	17	2.2
Total	11,177	1,001	692	473	382	262	
% of total	100%	8.9%	6.2%	4.2%	3.4%	2.3%	

* History, Economics, Geography: 1967-1971
Political Science: 1966-1972
Anthropology: 1966-1971

The level of interest in Western Europe (as expressed in dissertation research) is considerably higher than on the other areas of the world. It is higher, however, because of the greater concentration of research on Western Europe in History, particularly on early modern Europe. At least a quarter of all of the dissertations done on Western Europe focus on periods earlier than 1814.

All in all, then, the level of interest in Western Europe is lower than might have been anticipated. Given all of the basic resources in our universities which bear in one way or another on Western Europe, it is surprising to find so little focused attention on this most familiar world area. Exclude History, and we see that only 4.8% of the dissertations in the survey deal with Western Europe, while 6.5% deal with Latin America, and 3.9% with Asia. I can scarcely believe that these figures would have been anticipated.

It is interesting to look at the pattern of foreign area research (again, measured by completed dissertations) over a longer time base. In Table 2/26, disciplinary dissertations total by world area were broken down for three years--1959, 1967, and 1971. In the disciplines surveyed, 2,731 completed dissertations were identified in 1971. This more than doubled the 1967 total of 1,367. Data on History for 1959 were not available, but in 1959, 615 dissertations were completed in the four other disciplines. In 1967, the number had risen to 1,054 and in 1971, 2,134. Perhaps the most significant data of all is the massive increase in the number of completed Ph.D. dissertations in the social sciences in the 1960s!

The growing interest in the non-Western world is clearly indicated in Table 2/26. (See TABLE 2/26. DISSERTATIONS BY DISCIPLINE ON WORLD AREA,

TABLE 2/26

DISSERTATIONS BY DISCIPLINE ON WORLD AREA: 1959, 1966/67, 1971

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Latin America	Asia	Africa	Middle East	TOTAL non-Europe
1959							
History	NO DATA						
Political Science	13	9	3	18	0	15	36
Economics	5	9	9	10	2	4	25
Anthropology	1	1	10	5	4	4	23
Geography	0	1	12	3	2	5	22
Totals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967 (1966 marked by +)							
History	92	8	20	14	5	3	42
Political Science+	19	18	9	29	10	12	60
Economics	31	8	25	36	10	11	82
Anthropology+	4	0	5	8	4	8	25
Geography	4	0	7	2	3	1	13
Totals	150	34	66	92	32	35	222
1971							
History	178	36	24	33	21	7	85
Political Science	55	27	39	58	46	27	170
Economics	25	5	45	44	16	24	129
Anthropology	2	3	27	23	15	3	68
Geography	2	6	15	8	4	6	33
Totals	262	77	150	166	102	67	485

1959, 1967, 1971.) The number of dissertations on Latin America, Asia and Africa and the Middle East increased substantially in almost every discipline between 1959 and 1967 and between 1967 and 1971. There is some interesting inter-disciplinary variance. The rate of increase in Geography is low. In Political Science, it is remarkably high. Thirty-six Political Science dissertations were completed on these areas in 1959, 60 in 1967. But in 1971, there were 170 completed dissertations. There are also interesting inter-area variances. The rate of increase of dissertations on Africa was much more rapid than the other world areas; Latin America is second; Asia and the Middle East lag somewhat behind.

It is difficult to compare the non-Western area figures with those on Western Europe because of the much greater weight on research in History in the Western European data. Outside of History, the rate of increase of completed dissertations on the non-Western areas and on Western Europe was fairly similar. In 1959, 19 dissertations on Western Europe and 106 on the non-Western areas were completed; in 1967, 58 and 180; in 1971, 84 and 400.

The increase in the total number of dissertations on Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East between 1959 and 1971 is indeed remarkable. Perhaps 125 dissertations were completed on these areas in 1959 (making an educated guess for History); 222 were completed in 1967 and 485 in 1971. It is equally interesting, however, that this tremendous increase did not substantially alter the percentage distribution of dissertations among the world areas, given, of course, the equally remarkable increase in the total number of dissertations. As we can see in Table 2/27, the non-Western areas accounted for 17.2% of the dissertations (excluding

History) in 1959 and 17.1% in 1967. In 1971, this increased to 18.7%, a significant but scarcely overwhelming increase. (A similar increase was noted between 1967 and 1971 with figures for History included.)

TABLE 2/27

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DISSERTATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE AND NON-WESTERN AREAS

	1959	1967	1971
Total dissertations	---	1,367	2,731
(without History)	(615)	(1,054)	(2,134)
% on Non-Western areas	---	16.2%	17.7%
(without History	(17.2%)	(17.1%)	(18.7%)
% on Western Europe	---	11.0%	9.6%
(without History)	(3.1%)	(5.5%)	(3.9%)

What appears, therefore, to be most significant in these data is the enormous increase of resources which went to support dissertation research on non-Western areas in the first half of the 1960s--which produced these completed dissertations in the second half of the decade. Given the additional marginal cost of dissertation research on non-Western areas, the fact that research on these areas kept up with (and even slightly surpassed) the very high rate of increase for total dissertations reveals the extraordinary character of the effort to mobilize resources for non-Western area studies in this period.

The parallel data on Western European dissertations is more difficult to interpret. Our research, and these data, indicate that the notion of "Western European Studies" is relevant in only two disciplines,

History and Political Science--and, indeed, is only marginally relevant in History, given other longer-term disciplinary commitments to Western Europe. Interest in Western Europe in Sociology, Anthropology, and Geography is very low and although signs indicate that this may be changing at the present time, an increase in the level of interest in these disciplines is not revealed in the data gathered for this survey. We found substantially more interest in Economics in Western Europe than had been anticipated. Western Europe remains, however, a minor concern of the discipline, and those economists who have done research on Western Europe do not usually, it would appear, maintain active interests in the area. Again, although efforts are underway now to involve more economists in Western Europe and to involve them on a more continuing basis, these efforts are not reflected in these data. Indeed, the number of dissertations on Western Europe completed in Economics fell between 1967 and 1971.

As with research on other world areas, although to a rather greater extent than on the other areas, increasing interest in Western Europe has been most visible in Political Science. Political scientists, as we shall see in the next chapter, took the lead in the mid-1960s in organizing campus European studies programs and have continued to provide the bulk of the active participants in these and other European oriented academic programs.

Once again, although there are indications of greater inter-disciplinary communication and cross-fertilization in European studies at the present time, the data gathered in our survey reflect very little inter-disciplinary communication. The fairly substantial numbers of political scientists, historians and economists who did dissertation

and other research on Western Europe which was completed at the end of the 1960s do not appear to have very close contact across disciplinary lines.

Research on Western Europe in History was unusual in our survey in that it was heavily concentrated on periods before 1914. In the other disciplines, most research was focused on the twentieth century, and the larger share on the period since 1945. The degree of inter-disciplinary variation was even less with regard to country coverage. Research in every discipline is highly concentrated upon the major nations of Western Europe--France, Germany, Great Britain, and to a lesser extent, Italy.

TABLE 2/28

DISSERTATION DISTRIBUTION BY DISCIPLINE AND COUNTRY, 1967-1971

	France	Germany	Gt. Britain	Italy	Europe	Other++	Total
History+	26	50	27	2	0	17	122
Political Science	42	55	51	21	30	71	270
Economics	7	12	30	5	26	55	135
Anthropology	2	1	2	2	0	22	29
Total	77	118	110	30	56	165	556
	(13.8%)	(21.2)	(19.8)	(5.4)	(10.1)	(29.7)	(100%)

+ 1914 - present only
++ includes comparative dissertations

We see in Table 2/28 that 60% of all dissertations on Western Europe completed between 1966 and 1971 (note: we have included only those History dissertations on the 1914-present period) deal with one of these four nations. Another 10% focus on "Europe"--mainly the European Community--and some 30% deal either with another country or are comparative in focus. Forty percent of the dissertations deal with two countries, Germany or Great Britain.

Footnotes, Chapter II

1. Braibanti, Ralph, "Comparative Political Analytics Reconsidered," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 30, No. 1 (February 1968), pp. 25-65.
2. See, for example, the Ford Foundation's Common Problems Research Competition and, on a wider scale, the interests of the German Marshall Fund for the United States.
3. Geography: The Behavior and Social Sciences Survey (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 118.
4. See Richard Lambert, "Sociology and Area Studies," paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 1973, for his comments on an earlier draft of the section of this chapter on Sociology.

APPENDIX I: HISTORY

DISSERTATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1914-PRESENT, RECORDED BY AHA, 1966-1971

Belgium
- ForPol: 1936-37; 1966, UCALBerk, Kleft
- Language Problem; 1971, Oregon, Curtis

Europe
- Integration: Legal; 1967, SAIS, Axline

Finland
- ForPol: Petsamo; 1967, Columbia, Krosby

France
- Anti-Americanism: '17-'60; 1968, Columbia, Strauss
- Bio Barres; 1968, Catholic, Burns
- Bio Doriot; 1968, Wisc, Carrier
- Bio MaNdel; 1967, Columbia, Sherwood
- Bio Mounier and Esprit; 1969, Harvard, Hellman
- Blum Govt; 1967, UCALDav, Vandenplas
- Clemenceau, Peace Conf '19; 1968, UNC, Burnett
- Communist: Thorez and Catholics, '36-'39; 1971, Catholic, Murphey
- Corporatism: Cap-Lab Collaboration, '14'36; 1971, Wisc, Fine
- Daladier Govt, '38-'40; 1970, UNC, Gay
- DeGaulle: Army, Algeria; 1967, Columbia, Geismar
- Empire: Decolonialization; 1966, N.Ill., Olson
- ForPol: Algeria and 4th Repub; 1966, UNC, Tucker
- ForPol: Delbos & Front Populaire; 1970, KentSt, Dreifort
- ForPol, in Spanish Civil War; 1971, Columbia, Gordon
- Jews: Paris Community in '30s; 1971, Wisc, Weinberg
- Military: Air Policy '19-'39; 1965, Georgetn, Krauskopf
- Military: Preparation in '20s; 1970, Harvard, Hughes
- Military: Technology, 3rd Repub; 1969, Duke, Clarke
- Monetary Instability, 124-126; 1968, Columbia, Schmid
- Monetary Instability: Dawes Plan '24; 1969, Harvard, Schuker
- Parliament: Crisis 1917; 1966, NWstrn, Reynolds
- Politics: Colonial Lobby in '30s; 1971, Wisc, Schweitzer
- Politics: Pol Histy of Maginot Line; 1971, Columbia, Stark
- Politique, an analysis of the review; 1968, Catholic, Smith
- Syndialism: Reformism, '11-'19; 1971, Brown, DeLucia
- United Nations; 1968, FlaSt, Herbert
- Vichy, Darlan; 1966, UNC, Melton
- Vichy: Laval and Nazis; 1967, Georgetn, Jasperson
- Vichy-Resistance: Collapse of Resistance Front, '44-'46; 1971, Princeton, Kram
- Vicy-Resistance: Noncommunist Movements; 1971, Duke, Sweets
- WW II: Liberation; 1965, Columbia, Novick

Germany
- Bio Abetz; 1969, sMiss, Wallace
- Bio Adler; 1969, Harvard, Florence
- Bio Grosz, Art & Pol in Weimar; 1969, Wisc, Lewis
- Bio Hugenberg, '14-'34; 1971, Catholic, Leopold

Germany (cont.)

Bio Lundendorff; 1968, NWstrn, Piazza
Bio Marcuse; 1971, Conn, Lippshires
Bio Rathenau; 1966, UCALBerk, Loewenberg
Bio Rathenau; and Repairations; 1970, Columbia, Felix
Bio Rathenau; and Repariations; 1965, Georgetwn, Stenger
Bio Reventlow: & Weimar; 1971, Wisc, Neville
Bio Tucholsky; 1965, Columbia, Poor
Bio von Schliecher, '26-'32; 1971, Wisc, Barber
Bio von Schliecher, and Reichswehr; 1971, Vandrblt, Steely
Brentanismus; 1966, Columbia, Menze
Bund: in US, '23-'39; 1971, SUNYBing, Diamond
Depression: Econ Policy; 1971, Wash(StL), Heyl
Deutsche Christen ideas, '31-'37; 1971, Chicago, Zabel
ForPol: Britain, '29-'33; 1966, NDame, Chappius
ForPol: Civil War Spain; 1966, Oregon, Proctor
ForPol: Disarmament '32; 1964, Duke, Deierhof
ForPol: Geneva Conf; 1971, CUNY, Alteras
ForPol: Locarno; 1968, Columbia, Wehn
ForPol: Nazi, with Dutch; 1968, NWstrn, Voorhis
ForPol: Papal Peace Proposal 1917; 1965, UCALBerk, Herber
ForPol: to Rapallo; 1970, UNC, Mueller
ForPol: with West '28-'29; 1966, UCALBerk, Jacobson
Frankfurt School: Intellectual History, '23-'50; 1971, Harvard, Harvard, Jay
Left: Cultural Politics, '14-'33; 1971, Harvard, Wurgaft
Military: Panzerwaffe '20-'39; 1969, NWstrn, Burke
Munich '18-'19; 1970, Harvard, Bischoff
Nazi: Catholic Schools; 1966, St Louis, McCauley
Nazi, & Eckart; 1971, Wash(StL), Engleman
Nazi: Foreign Labor '39-'45; 1963, PennSt, Homze
Nazi: Hitler; 1967, Wisc, Weingartner
Nazi: Hitler Youth; 1965, UCALBerk, Walker
Nazi: Hitler Youth, '33-'45; 1971, Wisc, Rempel
Nazi: In Reichstag Election, '30; 1971, Wisc, Hackett
Nazi: Nuremberg War Trials; 1969, Wisc, Silvergate
Nazi: Occupation of Greece; 1969, Vandrblt, Hondros
Nazi: Occupation of Poland; 1967, Wisc, Thompson
Nazi: Opposition to; 1967, Penn, Zales
Nazi: Ortsgruppen, '19-'23; 1968, Kansas, Douglas
Nazi: Party Courts, '26-'34; 1970, KentSt, McKale
Nazi: Social Welfare, '19-'39; 1971, VA, deWitt
Nazi: Surrender in Italy '45; 1970, SMiss, Smith
Nazi: von Papen as Ambassador; 1968, StJohns, Leavey
Nazi: Volkstumspolitik & ForPol, '33-'38; 1970, Wisc, Smelser
Nazi: Waffen SS; 1964, Columbia, Stein
Nazi: Waffen SS; 1971, Neb, Gelwick
Nazi: Waffen SS; 1971, Vandrblt, Sydnor
Nazi: WW II, Home Propaganda; 1966, Columbia, Baird
Nazi: WW II, Occupation by U.S.; 1966, VA, Nelson
SIPO & SD, '31-'40; 1968, Wisc, Browder
Weimar: Atomic Physics; 1967, UCALBerk, Forman
Weimar: & Bourgeois Unity, '24-'30; Wisc, Jones
Weimar: & Disarmament, '19-'30; 1968, Fletcher, Jones
Weimar: Neo-Conservatism, von Papen; 1969, Wisc, Braatz

Germany (cont.)
Weimar: Professors and; 1967, Kansas, Tobler
Weimar: Referendum, '26; 1970, UCALBerk, West
Weimar: Ruhr occ; 1965, UNC, Cornbise
Weimar: Russians in Gy; 1966, Harvard, Williams
Weimar: Stresemann & Ruhr, '23-'24; 1970, Wisc, Jones
Weimar: Wirth, Demo Left; 1967, Catholic, Knapp

Germany (East)
Protestantism: under East German Rule; 1966, Kansas, Gust

Great Britain
Bio AJP Taylor; 1971, Claremont, Cole
Bio Angell; 1967, BallSt, Bisceglia
Bio DH Cole, '13-'27; 1970, Catholic, Willgoos
Bio GDH Cole; 1967, Harvard, Carpenter
Bio Collingwood; 1966, Harvard, Johnson
Empire: Imperial Defense, Far East, '19-'23; 1971, Fordham, English
ForPol: Central Asia, '17; UCALSanD, Stanwood
ForPol: Chanak; 1971, Ill, Snodgrass
ForPol: China, '20-'28; 1968, Wisc, Stremsky
ForPol: Demo Control, WWI; 1971, Wash(StL), Stiers
ForPol: Dutch Policy, '14-'18; 1969, BU, Watson
ForPol: Eastern Qustn in Anglo-Fr Rel, '20-'22; 1971, Vandrblt, Hall
ForPol: Palestine, '14-'39; 1966, Harvard, Doxsee
ForPol: Relations with Italy, '14-'18; 1971, CaseWR, Young
ForPol: with Italy, '33-'35; 1971, UCALIrv, Robertson
Government: Bd of Invention in WWI; 1971, UCALIrv, Gusewelle
Government: Dept of Overseas Trade, '16-'22; 1971, VA, Homer
Government: Supply & Transport Com, '19-'26; 1970, Wisc, Desmarias
Labor and Government: Stankey Commission, '19; 1971, Catholic, Plowman
Labour: General Strike, '26; 1969, USC, Morris
Labour-left: & German Rev, '18-'29; 1969, Catholic, Skop
Labour Party: and International Sanctions, '18-'35; 1968, Rutgers, Pol
Labour Party: Recovery, '31-'35; 1970, Vandrblt, Brookshire
Liberalism; 1966, St. Louis, Berry
Social Reform, '15-'21; 1967, Columbia, Orbach
WWI: Church of Eng.; 1963, Columbia, Marrin
Mussolini: Reaction to, '22-'23; 1967, Georgetn, Urgo
Nazis: Reaction to; 1966, UNC, Matthews
Pacifism: Bloomsbury Group; 1971, Columbia, Pollock

Greece
ForPol: and WWI; 1961, GA, Leon

Ireland
Bio McGarrity & Irish ind; 1970, StJohns, Tarpey
Ireland: in UN; 1967, StJohns, Mulkeen

Italy
Colonies: Loss of Empire, '45; 1967, Columbia, Laccetti
Facism: Allied Policy, '40-'43; 1966, SCar, Holsten
Fascist: Image of US; 1970, UCALBerk, Bernardini
ForPol: in Spanish Civil War; 1971, Wisc, Coverdale

Norway
Bio Quisling; 1970, USC, Hoidal

Spain
20th Cent: Agrarian Reform; 1965, Columbia, Malefakis
Anarcho-Syndicalism and Russian Rev; 1967, USC, Meaker
Bio Ortega y Gasset; 1971, Chicago, Holmes
Civil War: Germany; 1966, Columbia, Horton

Sweden
Bio Nolin; 1969, NWstrn, Shepard

Other
OECD: Analysis of Science Programs; 1971, Georgetn, Shuman

General
ForPol: Adriatic, '19-'24; 1964, Columbia, Jareb
Neo-Socialism; 1969, Wisc, Grossman

General-Comparative
Conservative Pol, Econ, '18-'24; 1967, Harvard, Maier
Facism: Facismo Universale, '28-'36; 1969, Wisc, Ledeen
Jews: Minorities, '18-'22; 1967, Catholic, Thompson
Lausanne Conf, '32; 1971, Wisc, Soper
Reaction to Hitler, '33; 1968, UCALBerk, Miller
Socialism, Fr, Gy, '19-'20; 1967, Harvard, Shirk
Supreme Economic Council after WWI; 1971, Georgetn, Fitzgerald
Versailles-Leipzig Fiasco, '19-'21; 1971, My, Bailey

APPENDIX II: POLITICAL SCIENCE

DISSERTATIONS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE* ON WESTERN EUROPE, 1966-1972: COUNTRY COVERAGE

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Total
Austria		1	1	1			1	4
Belgium		1			2		1	4
Denmark		1		1			1	3
Finland						1		1
France	2	4	2	7	10	11	6	42
Germany (East and West)	2	5	9	7	3	13	16	55
Greece			3	1	1	1	3	9
Iceland								--
Ireland			1					1
Italy	3	3	2		4	6	3	21
Luxembourg								--
Netherlands					2			2
Norway		1	1	1		1	1	5
Portugal					1			1
Spain				1	1	1	2	5
Sweden	2	1	1	1			1	6
Switzerland		1	2	2				5
United Kingdom	7	5	5	9	4	8	13	51
Others		2	5	4	3			14
Non-Specific & Comparative		1		2	1	4	2	10
European Community	2	2	5	4	3	9	5	30
TOTAL	19	28	37	41	35	55	55	270

* Comparative and International Subfields

CHAPTER III

PROGRAMS AND ORGANIZATIONS

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter of this report, in an effort to evaluate interest in Western Europe in colleges and universities in this country, we examined data on dissertation research and on journal articles which dealt with European topics. We attempted to determine the level and content of interest in Western Europe in several disciplines of the social sciences. In this chapter, we look at another type of phenomenon which helps us to better understand the nature of European studies, at the various campus European studies programs and at several major organizations which support, encourage and coordinate European studies.

2. Campus Western European Studies Programs

Introduction

Most of the campus programs dealing with Western Europe with which we are concerned fall into one of two basic types. One of these is directed primarily toward student travel and exchange in Western Europe, while the other is more centrally oriented toward academic interests on campus. This same division, of course, is characteristic of programs of American colleges and universities dealing with every world area. What differs in the Western Europe case, however, is the

large quantitative imbalance between the two types of programs. In the other world areas, there is a fairly consistent relationship between the percentage of programs dealing with that world area. That is, for example, Latin America has a higher rank in every type of program; Africa has a lower rank in each type. International programs on Western Europe, however, are not characterized by this relationship. There are a very large number of travel, exchange and study-abroad programs dealing with Western Europe, while there are only a few campus programs with a more academic orientation.

A study of the international programs of American universities was carried out by the East-West Center in Hawaii in 1965. It attempted to identify all those programs which fell within the very broad definition of "formal and informal international affiliations, exchanges, contracts and arrangements other than regular curriculum" that involve "the sending or receiving of persons or things between an American university (or group of universities) and a cooperating foreign institution, country or region for which the American university or one of its subdivisions accepts institutional responsibility over a period of time."[1] As the authors of the survey observe, this definition tended to

pick up all of those programs with any form of international exchange or travel while it overlooked others, such as area studies programs, with strong academic and curricular interests in an area of the world but with no formal exchange or travel arrangements. Of the more than 1,300 programs identified in the survey, 225 (about 17%) dealt with Western Europe, more than on any other world area except Latin America.

TABLE 3/1

"INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS" BY WORLD AREA (1967)

World Area	Number of Programs	Percent	
Sub-Saharan Africa	104	7.9%	
Northeast Asia	61	4.6	
South Asia	103	7.8	16.3%
Southeast Asia	41	3.1	
Oceania	10	0.8	
Latin America	310	23.6	
Middle East/North Africa	58	4.4	
Russia & Eastern Europe	115	8.8	
Western Europe	225	17.1	
Other (includes multi-area and non-area programs)	287	21.9	
	1,314	100.0%	

In 1969, the authors of another study of international programs of American colleges and universities utilized the data bank maintained by the Education and World Affairs organization to compile an inventory of study abroad programs.[2] Some of these programs had been included in the East-West Center survey, but others had been overlooked or included under a single general listing. They identified a total of 636 study abroad

programs, including those operating in the summer and during the academic year. The number of programs which sent students to Europe far exceeded those which focused on all other areas of the world. About 68% of all of the programs were directed toward Europe, and the great majority of those (well over 90%) dealt with Western Europe. Almost 71% of the students who participated in summer programs and some 81% of those participating in academic year programs went to Europe--the great majority, again, going to Western Europe.

TABLE 3/2

STUDY-ABROAD PROGRAMS OF U.S. COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES BY WORLD AREA (1967-68)

World Area	Summer		Academic Year		Total	
	Number*	Percent	Number*	Percent	Number	Percent
Sub-Saharan	2	0.9	9	2.2	11	1.7
East Asia	7	3.0	23	5.6	30	4.7
South Asia	1	0.4	5	1.2	6	0.9
Southeast Asia			2	0.5	2	0.3
Latin America	49	21.5	40	9.8	89	14.0
Middle East and North Africa	5	2.2	19	4.7	24	3.8
Europe	141	61.8	292	71.6	433	68.1
Canada	6	2.7	2	0.5	8	1.3
Worldwide or Country Varies	17	7.5	16	3.9	33	5.2
TOTAL	228	100.0	408	100.0	636	100.0

* Each consortium is counted as one.

Source: Data Bank, Education and World Affairs, New York, December, 1969.

TABLE 3/3

STUDENTS ON STUDY-ABROAD PROGRAMS BY WORLD AREA (1967-68)

World Area	Summer				Academic Year			
	Graduate		Undergraduate		Graduate		Undergraduate	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Sub-Saharan Africa	40	0.6					21	0.1
East Asia			75	1.0	150	1.0	425	2.8
South Asia			19	0.3	26	0.2	81	0.5
Southeast Asia							32	0.2
Latin America	165	2.3	1,057	14.7	86	0.6	899	6.1
Middle East and North Africa	42	0.6	69	0.9	45	0.3	158	1.1
Europe	839	11.7	4,235	58.9	1,066	7.2	10,971	74.0
Canada	3	0.1	107	1.5			28	0.2
Worldwide or Country Varies	187	2.6	348	4.8	69	0.5	764	5.2
TOTAL	1,276	17.8	5,910	82.2	1,442	9.7	13,379	90.2

Source: Data Bank, Education and World Affairs, New York, December, 1969.

These studies clearly indicate the preponderant place of Western Europe in those international programs which deal primarily with the exchange of students and faculty, with study abroad, and with other basically non- or extra-curricular activities. Though outside of the regular curricular structure of the institutions in which they exist, these programs do represent a massive commitment of resources which make up one part of the total "capital"--human and physical as well as financial--of the sponsoring colleges and universities.

When we turn to those programs which had a primarily academic or research orientation, the weight of Western Europe diminishes substantially. A recent survey of language and area studies programs identified 405 programs in operation in 1967-68.[3] The distribution of these programs by world area was essentially similar to those identified by the East-West Center survey, with one notable exception. Western Europe fell from the top of the list to the very bottom. Only 4% of the language and area studies programs identified in the survey dealt with Western Europe. (See TABLE 3/4. LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES PROGRAMS BY WORLD AREA (1967-68).)

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TABLE 3/4

LANGUAGE & AREA STUDIES PROGRAMS BY WORLD AREA (1967-68)

World Area	Number of Programs	Percent	
Sub-Saharan Africa	35	(8.5%)	
East Asia	48	(11.9)	27.7%
South Asia	18	(4.5)	
Southeast Asia	7	(1.7)	
Asia--General (includes Oceania)	39	(9.6)	
Latin America	122	(30.1)	
Middle East/ North Africa	26	(6.4)	
Russia and Eastern Europe	73	(18.0)	
Western Europe	16	(4.0)	
Canada	5	(1.2)	
Rotating and Multi-area	16	(4.0)	
TOTAL	405	(100.0%)	

Source: Data Bank, Education and World Affairs, New York, December, 1969.

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The explanation for this imbalance is not difficult to understand. The formation of non-Western area studies programs represented concerted efforts by groups of scholars who shared interests in an area of the world to coordinate and mobilize campus and non-campus resources to support a variety of research and training activities on this area. Area studies programs often started from the barest of beginnings--with weak or non-existent traditions of research in the area, infinitesimal library resources, little or no language training capabilities, and minimal course content. The better programs developed a sense of common effort which cut across disciplinary and departmental borders and enabled vigorous leaders to establish new forms of budgetary, administrative and institutional arrangements.

None of these conditions held for Western Europe. As Harry Eckstein notes:

> The blanks of knowledge to be filled in were certainly smaller to begin with. Americans aside, local scholars were hardly at work, and reporting in accessible languages. Nor was there much of a sense of new political drama, or of practical problems requiring specialized scholarly assistance. If anything, it seemed necessary to deemphasize Western studies precisely in order to right a balance, and to keep scholarship in equilibrium with changed forces in the world's politically significant affairs.[9]

Even later on, when a new sense of urgency about the need to revive interests in Western Europe had arisen, and research frontiers had begun to shift back to Western Europe from the non-Western world, it proved difficult to create new campus programs on Western Europe. As we shall see, there was great ambivalence among scholars interested in Western Europe about the way in which interests should be institutionalized, and a great reluctance, at least by the late 1960s, to create new area studies programs on Western Europe from the traditional mold. Besides, even if they had wanted to, it would have been difficult to do. Instead of no resources, there were many

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campus resources bearing upon Western Europe. But they were tied into specific departmental and disciplinary constituents and not easily mobilized to perform new roles. For example, the non-Western area studies program had normally rested upon cooperative ties among language specialists, historians and social scientists--usually anthropologists and political scientists. Almost no campus program on Western Europe, however, has succeeded in developing similar cooperative linkages among the well-developed Western European language and literature departments and social scientists with interests in Western Europe. Even cooperation between historians and political scientists with similar interests on Western Europe, as we have seen, is minimal. Rigidity seems in fact to have increased in recent years as these very departments have come under increasing pressure of declining enrollments created by the abolition of undergraduate requirements. Thus, as we shall see below, the lack of even formal interdisciplinary structures has been a consistent characteristic of Western European studies programs.

On the other hand, Western Europe is the logical site for study-abroad programs. Although strenuous efforts have been made to create programs in other areas of the world, distance, logistics, costs and language difficulties pose enormous barriers to success. Western Europe is close, relatively inexpensive to get to (at least until recently), and has many universities and other institutions which have been eager to make arrangements with American schools. Although language training is normally the goal of the program, one can if necessary get along well enough in Europe in English. Study abroad in Western Europe is often--although, of course, not inevitably--the easiest and least expensive overseas adventure a student can have. Finally, study abroad programs in Western Europe are rarely organized and administered by social scientists with major research interests in Western Europe. These programs seem usually to be

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run by language and literature departments, which normally have few ties to the social science departments, or by study-abroad offices which frequently are outside of the regular curricular structure. Some of these offices, indeed, have become major "businesses" within the University in their own right.

One conclusion is evident. The two sets of campus programs which deal with Western Europe have been substantially autonomous of one another. The commitment to the development of study abroad and other non-curricular international programs on Western Europe has not been a sign of the level of academic and curricular interest in contemporary Western European society and politics nor does it serve as a meaningful indication of commitment by these institutions to develop and expand academic and curricular interests in this area. The various study abroad and exchange programs which operate in Western Europe have been oriented far more toward individual cultural enrichment than toward encouraging students to develop continuing academic or intellectual interests in the countries they are visiting.[5]

Another survey provides additional insight into the nature of study abroad programs. The Institute of International Education conducts an annual survey of U.S. students abroad by country and by field of interest.[6] The survey is only of limited value because it does not distinguish between undergraduate and graduate students. Furthermore, because of the way in which the data are collected, many students must be overlooked, particularly those who are doing research rather than attending courses. Still the data are revealing. Of some 25,117 students identified in the 1970 survey, 12,728 were in Europe--almost all in Western Europe. Of these, 51.7% were in the humanities (excluding History)--29.6% in Language and Literature alone. More than 18% of the students were enrolled in some sort of medical training program (mainly in Belgium,

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Italy, and Spain). But only 12.8% were in the social sciences, including History. Thus, out of 12,728 U.S. students attached in some way to European universities in 1968-69, only 1,630 were in the social sciences.[7]

These data cannot in themselves support much in the way of conclusions, but they do reinforce our belief that the whole edifice of study abroad programs on Western Europe is largely independent of "European studies". A very considerable number of students from U.S. colleges and universities go to Western Europe each year to participate in some formal educational program. The great majority of these students are undergraduates, most of whom are associated with study-abroad programs sponsored by language and literature departments. They participate in the programs for a variety of individual reasons, but participation in these programs does not appear to be usually translated into interest in European studies back at their American university or college or, at any rate, there seems to be little visible relationship between these students and programs and what we have called European studies.

We return then to a configuration which seems characteristic throughout this report--of a remarkable imbalance between very substantial diffuse resources bearing on Western Europe (courses, study-abroad programs, language training, and so on) on one side and very limited focused scholarly attention on Western Europe on the other. It is an interesting paradox. The intellectual foundations of our universities as institutions and of the disciplines of which they are composed are essentially European. Students are far more likely to spend a substantial amount of time in Western Europe than anywhere else, either informally or involved in formal education programs. Courses in many areas, such as history, fine arts, literature, and even political science, are still likely to deal extensively

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with Western Europe, particularly at the introductory level. And yet, all of this has produced very little in the way of sustained efforts to increase or even to maintain our knowledge of Europe and of the social, political, and economic developments that have been taking place there in the last twenty-five years.

Western European Studies Programs

The survey of language and area studies programs referred to above identified 16 programs on Western Europe operating in 1967-68. Five of these programs were undergraduate only, 5 graduate only, and 6 were both graduate and undergraduate. Our survey was able to identify 43 programs dealing with Western Europe operating in 1971-72. Nineteen of them were undergraduate only and 24 were either graduate or were mixed graduate and undergraduate. Twenty-seven of the programs dealt with Western Europe in general, and 16 with a sub-region in Western Europe or with a single country.

TABLE 3/5

WESTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES PROGRAMS, 1971-72

	Undergraduate Only	Graduate or Graduate & Undergraduate	Total
Western Europe	10	17	27
Britain & Commonwealth	1	1	2
France	0	1	1
Germany	3	1	4
Hispanic	2	2	4
Italy	1	1	2
Scandinavia (Sweden)	2	1	3
Total	19	24	43

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The increase in the number of Western European programs between the two surveys, even though some of it must be due only to improved data, is still impressive, and provides a good indication of the degree to which there has been a "revival of interest" in Western Europe since the mid-1950s. We identified, for example, 17 graduate level or undergraduate and graduate programs with a general Western European focus operating in 1971-72. Only 2 of these programs were in existence before 1965, and 7 of them were established between 1967 and 1971. Furthermore, at the time of our survey, several more universities had recently committed themselves to the creation of a European studies program.

Programs with a General Western European Focus

We were able to locate 27 current programs with a general Western European focus. Ten of these were undergraduate only, and 17 were either graduate only or graduate and undergraduate.

The undergraduate programs consisted usually of an interdisciplinary major which was combined in some cases with a senior thesis. These undergraduate programs apparently involved no special curriculum or faculty arrangements, other than the designation of a faculty member to take administrative responsibility for the program. Students selected courses from a list of approved courses offered by various departments.

These programs are identified with institutions which are not among the most prominent in the country. Half of the programs are sponsored by relatively small colleges, and none of the sponsoring institutions are in the top ranks of academic ratings. Our impression is that these programs represent efforts by a few faculty and/or administrators with stronger interests in Europe to design innovative undergraduate

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programs and to mobilize a relatively small amount of resources on Western Europe available in that institution. In some cases, the European program is just one segment of a wider effort to introduce an international dimension at the undergraduate level.

There are probably other undergraduate programs on Western Europe which are not interdisciplinary but consist instead of several courses built around a study-abroad program within a single department. These programs emerge as "alternative tracks" within a departmental major (usually a language and literature major). They are often identified with the interest and enthusiasm of a single faculty member, and are likely to wax and wane as his interest and time rise and fall.

Our survey identified 17 programs on Western Europe which were either graduate only or were graduate and undergraduate. Unlike the undergraduate majors, these programs were often associated with the most outstanding and prestigious American universities, many of which have a long tradition of intimate and extensive links with Western European academic and intellectual communities.

This listing includes programs in all stages of development. Two programs were terminated as this report was in progress, and three more have barely started up. They represent a wide range of patterns of organization and activities, yet, though of assorted shapes and sizes, they share certain characteristics which may distinguish them as a group from those which focus on other world areas.

For one thing, the Western Europe programs tend to be quite new. At least 13 of the 17 were established between 1965 and 1971. Secondly, unlike those programs on other world areas which may be about to enter a phase in which numbers decrease, the trend for European programs seems at

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this moment still to be upward, and several major universities have either begun the process of establishing new programs or have at least set up committees for the purpose of laying down plans for a new program.

(See TABLE 3/3. PROGRAMS WITH A GENERAL WESTERN EUROPEAN FOCUS (1971-72.)

TABLE 3/1

DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF WESTERN EUROPEAN STUDY PROGRAMS

Date	Number
Before 1965	2
1965	3
1966	3
1967	1
1968	1
1969	2
1970	1
1971	2
DK	2
	17

Before 1965, only two major university programs on Western Europe were in existence. Both of them, at Columbia University and at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, were well-integrated units within a professionally oriented graduate school of international affairs. Both had been established more than a generation earlier. In the middle 1960s, however, Western European studies programs were formed at several prominent American universities. The establishment of these programs reflected the view that, after a substantial period of time in which American social scientists had directed their attention primarily to other parts of the world, European studies had begun to enjoy a modest resurgence, as well as the belief that if this revival of interest was to have any

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TABLE 3/6

PROGRAMS WITH A CENTRAL FOCUS ON WESTERN EUROPEAN FOCUS (1971-72)

American University, West European Language & Area Studies Program (? - 1973)*

University of California, Berkeley, Committee for Western European Studies (1955-)

Columbia University, Institute of Western Europe (1949-)

Cornell University, Committee on European Studies (1969-)**

CUNY Graduate Center, Committee on European Studies (1970-)**

Harvard University (CRT), West European Studies (1969-)

Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Institute of European Studies (1950?-)

Illinois State University, West European Studies Program (? -)

Indiana University, West European Studies (1966-)

University of Massachusetts, West European Studies Committee (1971-)**

University of Michigan, Center for Western European Studies (1967-)

SUNY, Buffalo, Center for Comparative European Studies (1966-1972)* +

University of Notre Dame, West European Studies Program (1966-)

Princeton University, Committee on Modern European Studies (1965-)

University of Texas, Center for European Studies (1971-)**

University of Wisconsin, Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society (1970-)

University of Wisconsin, Western European Area Studies Program (1968-)

Yale University, Council on European Studies (1965-)

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* program terminated 1972-73

** program just starting; information on program incomplete

\+ no information available on program

substantial impact on patterns of training and research in the social sciences, it would have to be supported by a greater degree of coordination among scholars with interests in Europe, by the development of more coherent research and training programs, and by the identification of new financial resources. Western European programs were established during this period at Berkeley, Harvard/MIT, Yale, Princeton, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. Substantial financial support was made available to several of these programs by the Ford Foundation, through its European and International Division which also initiated the Western European Division of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program in 1964.

The formation of these programs and, in 1969-1970, of a coordinating organization, the Council for European Studies, as well as the apparent interest in Western Europe of several private foundations and the federal government, stimulated the initiation of a second round of program formation, a round which appears to be gaining momentum at this moment.

It is important to underline here (although we will deal with this in greater detail shortly) that this European studies "movement" was deeply ambivalent in several fundamental respects. That research in the social sciences in this country, and the various facilities and institutions which supported research, had neglected Western Europe for more than a generation was clear. It was also clear by the mid-1960s that there were very substantial reasons for attempting to revive scholarly interest in Western Europe, and that these reasons--to the participants at any rate--related not only, or even primarily, to area studies considerations, but also to considerations which were much more disciplinary and methodological.[9] Indeed, most of those individuals who took the leadership in the revival of Western European studies and who

were often instrumental in establishing a series of campus programs on Western Europe tended to oppose what they defined as area studies. A generation earlier, the formation of area studies programs on the non-western areas of the world had provoked little opposition, either on intellectual or practical grounds. To most scholars, this was the only way to mobilize sufficient resources to support a coherent effort to study these areas. Twenty years later, the intellectual climate had changed significantly, and the area studies approach was, for good reasons or bad, on the defensive. The result was that those scholars who were committed to encouraging new interests in Western Europe were often uncertain as to the best way to proceed. At best, they attempted to learn from the area studies experience; at worst, they simply ignored it. But in any case, they did not wish to be identified with a movement that, as they saw it, had at very least run its course. As we shall see, these feelings fundamentally influenced the nature, content, and goals of many of the campus Western European studies programs established in the mid-1960s, and accounts in large part for the very significant differences between these programs and the more traditional non-western area studies programs.

The Western European studies programs share other characteristics, and we shall return to these common traits shortly. But there are really two distinct types of programs on Western Europe and it is useful at this point to look at each group separately. The basic distinction concerns whether or not they award an area studies degree or certificate. One group does and the other does not, and this is the key to certain basic differences in the foci of the programs, in the patterns of their activities, and in the attitudes and values they represent.

The first group of programs, those which do offer some certification to students who have completed a designated program of study, can be further divided into two sub-groups. The first of these is made up of the European studies programs which form an integral unit or subdivision of a graduate school of international studies. The European programs of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), of Columbia University's School of International Affairs, and of The American University's School of International Service[10] are (or were) all regular instructional divisions of these graduate schools.

The European Studies program is the largest of the area studies programs at Johns Hopkins SAIS. Students working on both MA and Ph.D. degrees can offer a geographic area as a subfield, and Europe is one of the areas that can be selected. Several full-time, several part-time, and several visiting faculty are associated with the program in Washington. In addition, most students in the program spend one of their two years at the Bologna Center, a branch of SAIS in Bologna, Italy. In 1971-72, some 41 MA and Ph.D. candidates were in residence in Washington, and 25 more were at the Bologna Center.

The Institute on Western Europe (formerly the European Institute) is one of several "research institutes" in the School of International Affairs at Columbia University. It was founded in 1949 by Philip Mosely, one of the authentic fathers of the area studies conception. Despite its formal description, the Institute's primary functions are administrative and instructional. It awards a Certificate of European Studies upon the completion of an interdisciplinary program of courses relating to contemporary Europe which supplements a regular program of MA or Ph.D. work within the University. Some of the students associated with the Institute

are candidates for the Masters of International Affairs degree within the School of International Affairs. Others are candidates for advanced degrees in other departments. About a dozen faculty members from several departments are affiliated with the Institute, although the Institute has no role in paying faculty salaries. A few courses are designed specifically for the students of the Institute but others are selected from the regular offerings of University departments. In 1972-73, 18 students were formally registered in the Institute's program; another dozen were involved in its various activities.

These are the two oldest programs we dealt with, and they are similar in several ways. They are well institutionalized divisions of graduate programs in international studies. Many students have taken advanced degrees in association with these programs, a substantial portion of whom--perhaps a majority of them--have not chosen an academic career, but rather have worked in government, business and finance. The primary intellectual foci of interest at these programs, so far as we can tell from our survey of dissertations, are quite distinctive, and focus primarily on international relations in Western Europe and between Europe and the United States.

The European program in The American University's School of International Service seems to have been quite similar to these programs, although it was terminated in 1972. It differed from the others in that it also offered a BA degree, in association with the Department of Languages and Area Studies, with a specialization in Western Europe. The MA program was also administered in cooperation with this Department.

The second sub-type within this group is composed of programs which are rather more diverse in character and structure than the first.

These programs offer an "area studies certificate" for the successful completion of an inter-disciplinary studies program on Western Europe. But they all operate as interdepartmental committees under the administrative supervision of a graduate school of arts and letters or sciences, rather than as units of a graduate school of international studies. Students complete the European studies program while simultaneously pursuing a higher degree in their major departments. This group includes programs at the University of Notre Dame, Illinois State University, the University of Wisconsin and Indiana University.[11]

The College of Arts and Letters and the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame sponsor a number of area studies programs. These programs are coordinated by the Department of Government and International Studies. There is an interdisciplinary undergraduate program which supplements the regular major as well as graduate programs that award area studies certificates in connection with the MA and Ph.D. The program at Illinois State University is similar in structure. It is a combined offering of the Departments of Business Administration, Economics, Foreign Languages, Geography, History, Political Science and the Graduate School. Upon successful completion of the program, candidates are awarded an MA in Western European Studies.

The University of Wisconsin has two programs whose primary focus is Western Europe--the Western European Area Studies Program and the Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society. The first program is in the first group in our framework, the second in group two. The second program was an outgrowth of the first, but it has tended to receive rather more attention. The Western European Area Studies Program is similar to the others in this group. Operating within the Office of

International Studies and Programs, it is considered one of the University's "formal" area studies programs. No faculty are formally affiliated with this program, however, nor has it any responsibility for the developing of curriculum. Students enroll in the program after they have been accepted as regular candidates in other departments. The program leads to a certificate and a Ph.D. minor in Western European studies which is designed to complement work for advanced degrees in participating departments.

The last program in this group, West European Studies at Indiana University, is similar to the others in that it offers an MA and a certificate in Western European studies as well as a minor at the Ph.D. level. But it is so different in other ways that it merits special attention. WEST operates administratively within the College of Arts and Sciences although--as with other international and area studies programs at Indiana University--its funds are partially controlled by the Associate Dean for International Studies. The program does offer formal courses and has recruited faculty and funded joint appointments with several cooperating departments. It offers research assistantships, fellowships, research stipends and exchange fellowships to graduate students and also provides faculty research support. It has sponsored conferences and visiting lecturers, and has supported research publication costs and a library acquisition program. The WEST program at Indiana University therefore resembles--far more than any other program in this group--an autonomous university department, with significant responsibilities for the certification of students, for faculty recruitment and salary, for the development of curriculum, and for a variety of fellowship and research support. In this sense, it stands quite alone among all of the other programs.

All of these programs have some formal responsibility in connection with the certification of students who have completed a required program of studies on Western Europe. They differ primarily in the nature of their organizational structure. The programs in the first sub-group are all integrated into the regular instructional and administrative structure of well established graduate schools of international studies. In some ways, it is difficult to refer to them as autonomous "programs" at all. Those in the second sub-group operate as interdepartmental programs.

Aside from this major difference, the programs do share other characteristics in addition to their certification function. The programs, except for WEST at Indiana University, have little control over or responsibility for faculty. Few--if any--faculty are directly affiliated with the programs, and the programs do not pay regular faculty salaries in all or in part, except for what might be paid to a faculty member who serves as administrator of the program. The programs, again except for Indiana University, have no formal responsibility for the recruitment or hiring of faculty. Similarly, these programs, even though they have a responsibility to certify students, have little formal responsibility in the development of curriculum. In general, courses are not offered by the program but are selected from the offerings of other departments, or from other sections of the graduate schools of international studies.

Several of the programs have received substantial soft money grants from outside of the university. These funds have been utilized to support various ancillary activities, including visiting speakers, small research grants, and so on. The budget for the primary part of the programs--the formal instructional part--have either been subsumed under the general hard-money budget of the graduate school of international studies in

which the program exists or (except in the case of Indiana) have been borne by the graduate school which sponsors the inter-departmental program. In this second case, budgets, of course, are very low and involve little more than minor administrative costs. The point, however, is that in both cases the programs, in so far as they have been integrated into the teaching and certification structure of the universities, are not dependent upon outside funds to exist.

In some ways, Indiana's WEST program is different. It does function more like a department, and participates in the recruitment and hiring of faculty and in the development of courses, and it has utilized soft funds from outside of the university to pay parts of faculty salaries. Yet, in the end, it is similar to the other programs in that, in so far as it has integrated itself into the regular instructional program of the university, the university has assumed a larger share of its basic operating budget. As the soft money runs out, the program (apparently) will survive as the university takes over more of its operating costs.

The programs in the first sub-type (at Columbia and SAIS, at any rate), which are well integrated administrative and instructional units with an autonomous graduate school, are likely to be relatively stable and, as matters go, fairly permanent. As we have noted, however, they are tied to the broader administrative structures and program goals of the graduate schools in which they operate and though more likely to be permanent, are not very autonomous. They have not had sufficient control over resources to be able to be particularly responsive to new programs or to new needs in the field. The programs in the second sub-group are more autonomous, but they are more weakly institutionalized. These programs exist between departments and do not form a basic element of an

instructional program. Instead, they merely offer a supplementary track to students in regular departmental programs. Their life expectancy seems fairly short. To achieve a longer life expectancy, they must integrate themselves more fully into the teaching structure of the university. Thus far, only WEST of Indiana seems to have accomplished that goal and in doing so, has much increased the chance that it will continue to exist.

These programs all share one other feature. In contrast to those we will consider next, they have all been relatively immune from debates about the validity or value of area studies. The reasons for this vary widely. The founders of the program at Columbia were forerunners in the area studies movement. At Indiana, the area studies model was so well institutionalized that the founders of the Western European program naturally emulated it. At Wisconsin, the area studies program marks a first effort at organization, soon to be overshadowed by another program of a radically different type.

This, finally, is a vital clue in the answer to one last question--what determines the structures these programs have taken at different universities. The answer seems to be this: once the commitment was made to the "area studies" model--that is, to some sort of formal instructional role, the nature of the organization was shaped primarily by the organizational strategy adopted by the university for dealing with its international and area studies programs. The programs in this group all tend to resemble, in organizational terms at any rate, the other international and area studies programs in their universities.

The second group of European studies programs is made up of those which have no responsibility for the certification of students. They have no formal involvement or connection with the teaching or certification

structure of the university. They do not offer regular courses nor have they formal responsibility for the development of curriculum. No specifically delineated listing of courses is associated with the program. They pay no faculty salaries (beyond that which might be paid to a faculty member who serves as a director or administrator of the program) and have no formal responsibility with recruitment or hiring of faculty.

The primary function of these programs is to focus the attention of students (usually at the graduate level) and faculty members upon contemporary Western Europe, and to provide a variety of resources and activities to encourage and support this interest. The primary, if not exclusive, interest of these programs has tended to be with research on Western Europe rather than with the training of students, and they have become involved in activities relating to training mainly through their commitment to encourage and improve research, rather than through any initial interest in training itself.

The original programs in this group were established in the mid-1960s at some of the most prestigious universities in the United States--Berkeley, Harvard/MIT, Michigan, Princeton, Wisconsin, and Yale. The formation of these programs represented an effort by a fairly self-conscious group of scholars with interests in Western Europe, together with several officers of the Ford Foundation, to channel what appeared to be a growing revival of interest in Western Europe among American social scientists in directions which would lead to the substantial expansion and improvement in research in the social sciences on Western Europe and to the development of better relations between social scientists on both sides of the Atlantic. The scholars who took the leadership in the establishment of these programs chose not to duplicate the

existing area studies model, even though several of the universities which housed the programs were themselves area studies "heavens".[12] In particular, they rejected the instructional/certifying function as inappropriate for programs on Western Europe.

Because of their primary interest in research, and because they existed within universities which contained large concentrations of resources bearing upon Western Europe, these programs all tended to be highly explicit in terms of particular research areas and themes with which they were concerned. To a rather greater extent than those programs in the first group, they focused their interest upon the study of contemporary Western Europe--that is, since 1945--and gathered their constituencies, both of students and faculty, fairly narrowly from the social sciences. The programs tended in fact to be organized around a core group of political scientists, with a minimal representation of historians and a few sociologists and economists. In no case were more traditional "area studies" links established with Western European language and literature departments. None of these programs included language training among their objectives.

Programs at several universities, including Yale, Berkeley, Wisconsin, and Harvard/MIT emphasized a thematic rather than an area perspective. The focus of their interest was not so much Western Europe in itself as the broader notion of the study of "advanced industrial societies." In 1971, Stanley Hoffmann, chairman of West European Studies at Harvard, wrote that:

> The main goal of the program is to facilitate the interdisciplinary study of the way in which the features which are common to all advanced industrial societies (urbanization, bureaucracy, mass education, science and technology, large corporations, etc.) have affected countries marked by old and often rigid class distinctions, by ideological traditions reflected in their political systems, by a long record of political upheavals (at least on the continent), by deeply ingrained national differences, and by a long history of rivalries and conflicts. It is necessary to understand the forms taken by these features in Europe, the impact they have had on traditional European social and political organization, and the effects of those old structures on the new trends (which are often mistakenly assumed to be

irresistible and to lead to a "convergence" of all advanced societies). For this would provide an indispensable perspective, both for the students of other advanced societies such as the United States, Japan, or the Soviet Union, and for students of the underdeveloped countries grasping for models for development.

The organizational structures of these programs vary over a number of different types, but the content of their activities has been very similar in each case.

The organization of the program was largely determined by the administrative environment of the host university. Several programs exist administratively within the international studies framework on their campus. The Committee for Western European Studies (Berkeley) operates unter the Institute of International Studies; the Council on European Studies (formerly European and Comparative Studies) (Yale) within the Concilium for International and Area Studies: and the Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society (Wisconsin) within the Office for International Studies and Programs. West European Studies at Harvard is responsible to a Standing Committee established by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The Center for Western European Studies at Michigan was established by the Regents of the University, and the Committee on Modern European Studies at Princeton is an interdepartmental committee.

The major activities of these programs fall into four main categories: seminars and colloquia, research support and fellowships, visitors, and information services. The formative activity in most cases consisted of an informal seminar or colloquia among faculty (and in some cases graduate students) who shared interests in Western European society and politics. The future of the program was determined by the ability of this group to develop sufficient support both within the university (the commitment of other participants and of certain key administrators) and

outside of it (mainly in the Ford Foundation) to develop and institutionalize a wider range of activities.

The ability to provide some form of financial support for research on Western Europe has usually been seen as a critical task, in terms both of filling a major need and of legitimating the program within the university. Inevitably, proposals for soft-money support have stressed the failure of existing research support programs to provide funds for research in Western Europe for both faculty and graduate students, and thus their failure to encourage the development of interests in the area. For some of these programs (e.g., Harvard and Michigan), support for graduate students is one of the largest parts of the program. Other programs concentrate more on faculty grants. Most provide some funds for both groups. But in every case, this is the most important function that can be undertaken.

The programs all seek to encourage campus visits by European scholars. Some have assisted departments to make visiting appointments; others invite European scholars for a shorter or longer period. One program, Harvard, administers another program, the German Kennedy Memorial Fellows Program, which brings a number of younger German post-doctoral social scientists to Harvard every year.

All programs, finally, serve an important role as centers of information about Western European studies for a wider campus constituency.

Brief descriptions of several of these programs (prepared for the Council for European Studies) provide a rather better picture of this type of program.

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Yale, Council on European Studies

The Council operates within the Concilium on International and Area Studies which was created in 1961 to give coherence to the growth and strengthening of University-wide interest in international studies. The Concilium provides administrative and financial support to the various Councils operating within it. Several Councils (East Asian Studies, Russian and East European Studies, Southeast Asian Studies, and International Relations) administer programs leading to interdisciplinary M.A. degrees. Others (African Studies, Latin American Studies, and Comparative and European Studies) do not.

The Council on Comparative and European Studies feels that neither a graduate degree program nor a specifically delineated group of courses should be identified with its program. It does look forward to the evolution of specific interdisciplinary courses dealing with problems of post-industrial societies in Western Europe.

The Council helps to bring to the University distinguished American and European scholars to lecture or, for longer periods, to teach courses; it has stimulated the development of courses in various departments; and members of the faculty identified with the Interdisciplinary Seminar in Comparative Studies are available to consult about graduate course programs and doctoral research.

The Interdisciplinary Seminar in Comparative Studies includes approximately twenty-five faculty members, representing six or seven departments. Beyond providing an on-going means of cross-departmental intellectual exchange and bringing outside scholars to Yale, the seminar has spawned several "work groups" involving smaller groups of faculty members interested in a similar problem. One group, led by Professor William Parker of the Economics Department, deals with "Agricultural Development and Its Impact on Social Change"; another, directed jointly by Professor Robert Triffin in Economics and Professor Douglas Rae in Political Science, deals with "Systems of Political Representation." Each is open to graduate student membership.

Perhaps the most important activity of the Council involves various kinds of support for graduate students, chief among which are funds made available for doctoral research, either to support research projects wholly or to provide supplementary assistance to cover additional field work or training expenses. The Council also assists graduate students in finding institutional affiliations or sponsorship in Europe that are relevant to doctoral research projects.

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Several long-range research programs in comparative European political behavior and comparative sociology are in early stages of formulation and implementation. Such programs, which will be comprised of both faculty and doctoral candidates, receive modest or "base-line" support from the Council.

Wisconsin, Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society

The Western European Area Studies Program was established during the academic year 1967-68. It hoped to focus, crystallize, and extend several promising lines of activity already initiated which, when completed, would ensure that the University of Wisconsin was one of the outstanding centers for the study of contemporary Europe.

The Program developed a flexible interdepartmental graduate curriculum which leads to a certificate and a Ph.D. minor in Western European Studies and which is designed to complement work for advanced degrees in participating departments. New courses and seminars have been introduced and the content of existing courses expanded to meet the needs of this curriculum.

The main commitment of the program at the present is to stimulate comparative and interdisciplinary studies of the emergence of problems of post-industrial society in Europe and elsewhere, especially North America. This has led to the establishment of a Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society within the Western European Area Studies Program.

The work of the new Center is more "project-oriented" than the broader Western European Area Studies Program. A set of projects will be carried out in different areas of the University under this theme, linked by common interests and sympathies of the participants and a skeletal common institutional effort.

Two basic themes have provided the intellectual framework for the activities of the Center: "policy choice" (i.e., the phenomena of change in process, foreseeable or reasonable, to be anticipated in post-industrial nations) and "political pluralism" (in which the main efforts have been to state the areas of pluralist differentiation that are compatible with the maintenance and extension of specified objectives of high industrial civilization).

Activities of the Western European Area Studies Program and of the Center for Comparative Studies of Post-Industrial Society include:

Awards--Graduate fellowships have been awarded and a program of grants-in-aid and student research projects initiated.

Seminars--Faculty seminars and working groups and colloquia have been organized. These include new seminars dealing with "Comparative Politics of Western Nations: The Comparative Politics of Post-Industrial Society," offered in the Political Science Department, and a new Western European seminar in the Department of Sociology focusing on the social indicators and variables that explain the distinct performance of societies during the periods of crisis and transition.

Visiting Scholars--An active program has been established under which leading American and European scholars of contemporary Europe have been invited to spend several days at the University.

Publications--The Program presently publishes an occasional newsletter.

Advisory Services--Students planning field research in Western Europe are offered various services by the Program.

Library Staffing--The Western European Area Studies Program has provided the library with research assistants for bibliographic work and travel expenses for a European acquisitions trip by the social studies librarian.

Data Acquisitions--The Western European Area Program has made it a top priority matter to facilitate access to such data.

Michigan, Center for Western European Studies

The Center for Western European Studies seeks to create a more effective community of scholars interested in European society by serving as an information center, by coordinating some of the activities already well-established in different schools and departments of the University, and by sponsoring new programs in graduate training and research .

The Center for Western European Studies is the newest of the area centers at the University of Michigan and was established by the Regents in 1970. No degrees or certificates are awarded by this program.

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The activities and programs of the Center for Western European Studies are varied and include:

Information Services--The Center attempts to maintain an up-to-date file of research on Western Europe currently being done at Michigan. It is also in touch with many European programs at other American institutions and with a number of centers for research in Europe. The Center also circulates a list of European specialists scheduled to visit Ann Arbor and maintains a bulletin board and file about exchange programs, fellowships, and research projects open to Michigan faculty and students.

Faculty Seminar--A special seminar sponsored by the Center meets once a month for informal discussion at which all faculty members and their guests are welcome. The Center also sponsors a number of colloquia on special topics.

Training Program--Each year the Center announces a general theme or topic that will be stressed in a dozen or more graduate courses offered in several departments and schools of the University. The theme begun in the Spring of 1970 was "The Response of Established Institutions to Social Change." The theme begun in 1970-71 is "The Movement of Population: From Rural to Urban Society in Modern Europe." Each theme is studied for two years, the second year's study being concentrated in a single interdisciplinary seminar sponsored by the Center and organized by at least five faculty members and ten students. Generally the participants in this seminar are actively engaged in research related to the theme, research that among the graduate students often began in the previous year's courses and that will form a part of doctoral dissertations or subsequent publications.

Visitors--Each year the Center invites one European scholar who serves as a visiting professor in a department and also takes part in the Training Program's seminar. The Center also sponsors each year, usually in cooperation with various departments and institutes, several lectures by European specialists.

Fellowships--Approximately ten fellowships are awarded annually to graduate students already in residence at the University. The Center also gives grants of up to $1,000 toward the cost of a summer in Europe to graduate students who need to go abroad for language training, special study, or preliminary research. Holders of the Center's fellowships are given preference but grants are made to other students, too.

Research Grants--Small grants are given to faculty members engaged in research on European topics. Often supplementary to other awards, they are given primarily to younger faculty, especially those ineligible for other University support whose work promises to be of interest to more than one discipline.

The most substantial of these programs--and in many ways the most interesting of them--is Harvard University's West European Studies.

The West European Studies Program began at Harvard in 1969. It rests upon a foundation laid in 1964 when Professors Laurence Wylie, Henry Kissinger, and Stanley Hoffmann offered a seminar in the study of contemporary Western Europe with the aim of attracting more students into West European studies. In the spring of 1969, the University established a standing committee on West European studies.

West European studies is an interdisciplinary program designed to expand the study of political, social, economic, and cultural problems in contemporary Western Europe. It operates under the auspices and direction of the Standing Committee on West European Studies, part of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Activities are coordinated with those of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

The goal of the program is to facilitate the study of the way in which features which are common to all advanced industrial societies (e.g., urbanization, bureaucracy, mass education, science and technology, large corporations) have affected countries marked by old and often rigid class distinctions, strong ideological traditions, long records of political upheavals, and deeply ingrained national differences. Such study also provides a useful perspective for students of other advanced societies such as the U.S., Japan, and the Soviet Union, and for the students of the underdeveloped countries looking for models of development.

No degrees or certificates are awarded by the program. Emphasis is placed on encouraging the development of new courses in the European area, coordinating the activities of the University which deal with West Europe, and providing facilities for research at all levels.

The program sponsors three regular credit seminars and a number of non-credit seminars and discussion

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groups including one whose primary purpose is to provide training for students who plan to do research in Western Europe and to allow those students to present their own research projects.

Among the non-credit seminars are several for undergraduates given in Harvard houses and several lunch or dinner discussions with guest speakers from Western Europe. Faculty seminars draw upon the fellows of the Center for International Affairs and the Institute of Politics and include graduate students.

In addition to supporting the eight month-long visits of European scholars who teach Government 289 each year, the Committee has sponsored several seminars given entirely by European visitors.

Two other programs closely associated with West European Studies are the German Research Program and the German Kennedy Memorial Fellows Program, both supported by the Volkswagen Foundation. Funds are provided to increase course offerings on the study of Germany (including an annual visiting professorship), support student fellowships for German studies, and augment Harvard's collection of data dealing with the study of contemporary Germany.

West European Studies gives considerable support to student research, both at the B.A. and Ph.D. levels, through grants for summer study in Europe. Conferences and film series are scheduled periodically for students involved in the study of West Europe.

A smaller part of the program's financial resources is devoted to post-doctoral research. The German Research Program, operated jointly with the Center for International Affairs at MIT, brings to Harvard one full-time scholar in residence each year, either from Germany or from another American university. Several junior faculty members are also subsidized so they can either do summer research in Europe or have time to work on their Ph.D. dissertations for publication.

The program also provides students and scholars with library assistance.

The type of program in this second group has provided the model for most of the European studies programs which have been established recently. Programs, for example, at Cornell and at CUNY Graduate Center are similar to those we have just described. Despite the obvious attraction of this model, however, it embodies a severe--perhaps fatal--disadvantage.

The primary activities of these programs have received little or no financial support from the host universities. Universities housing these programs have provided at best small administrative budgets, often to cover only the period during which proposals for external funding were being prepared. In several cases, budgets have come from general international development grants, but this has merely delayed--not solved--the ultimate problem of finding external sources of funds, and there has been strong pressure for each of these programs to develop its own independent financial base. The quality of the participants or of the program itself notwithstanding, none of these organizations have represented a substantial or continuing commitment by the universities in which they live. In this, too, they have differed sharply from the non-western area studies program model. Thus, the success or failure of the programs have been determined by their ability to raise outside funds. The only exception to this rule has been West European Studies at Harvard which has received considerable support from the University, although only after it proved its remarkably (and clearly unique) fund-raising capacity.

This has lead to an even greater difficulty. In fact, the Ford Foundation has been almost the sole source of funds for these programs. With federal funds (through USOE) not available for programs on Western Europe (and particularly for those with a primary orientation toward research rather than training) and with other private foundations only marginally interested in international education and hardly interested at all in Western Europe, many scholars who have been involved in these programs have been reluctant to engage in time and energy consuming fund raising tasks. In fact, the "revival of interest" in Western Europe, insofar as that has been identified with the formation of campus European studies programs, has been supported financially almost exclusively by the Ford Foundation and no one is prepared to

estimate what will happen when the Foundation (as now seems to be the case) feels it can no longer continue to accept this responsibility.[13]

The programs in the second group are highly autonomous within their host universities. At the same time, they tend to be weakly institutionalized. Most have no formal responsibilities in the teaching structure of the university, and the universities have accepted little formal responsibility to maintain the programs. So long as external support has been available, the host institutions have assisted the programs by providing office space and other facilities. But once the external funding terminates, the program is likely to collapse. Only the Harvard program, because of the scale and diversity of its funding as well as the degree to which it has penetrated the instructional structure of the university, seems to have institutionalized itself on what appears to be a permanent basis.

Programs with a Specific Focus

We identified from various sources 16 programs which focused on a sub-region in Western Europe or on a single European country. Of these, 9 dealt only with undergraduates and 7 were either graduate only or were graduate and undergraduate. We suspect, of course, that there are more undergraduate programs which focus on a particular European country than we have identified and that, as in the case of programs with a more general focus on Western Europe, these programs tend often to be weakly institutionalized and linked to study abroad activities. Indeed, it would quickly become quite difficult to distinguish between these two categories of programs.

The 7 graduate or graduate and undergraduate programs are very heterogeneous, and reflect the existence of unique configurations

of human and material resources rather than any general patterns of program development and academic interest.

TABLE 3/8

PROGRAMS WITH A SPECIFIC NATIONAL OR REGIONAL FOCUS (1971-72)

University of Connecticut, Italian Studies Program

Duke University, Commonwealth Studies Program

Duke University, Council on Hispanic Research *

Indiana University, Institute of German Studies

University of Kansas, Committee on Luso-Brasilian Studies *

University of Minnesota, Center for Northwest European Language and Area Studies

University of Southwest Louisiana, Institute of French Studies *

* no information available on program

The most extensive of these programs are those at the University of Minnesota and Indiana University. In fact, the programs share few characteristics. The Center for Northwest European Language and Area Studies at Minnesota is unique in that it has been the only NDEA Title VI Center which deals with Western Europe. The University of Minnesota has had a strong tradition in programs relating to the study of Northwest Europe, due largely to the presence of large and politically active ethnic groups from these areas in the state. The University of Minnesota was selected during World War II for an ASTP program in Scandinavian languages and culture; in 1947, it established a program in Scandinavian area studies with support from the Carnegie Foundation; in 1962, with

foundation support, the University began a program of research in immigrant history; and in 1965, the Center was established.

The structure of the Center and its program resemble other NDEA Title VI centers far more than the programs on Western Europe which we have examined in this chapter. The staff associated with the Center is heavily weighted on the side of language and literature as are the courses offered by and through the Center. Efforts have obviously been made to extend the operations of the Center into other spheres--into the social sciences and the College of Business Administration, it would appear, in particular.

The Institute of German Studies at Indiana University was established in 1968 and is supported jointly by the Volkswagen Foundation and the University. The program offers courses, but awards neither degrees not certificates. Its focus is contemporary, interdisciplinary, and "all-German"--that is, on both East and West Germany. The program, in addition to sponsoring courses, also provides funds for faculty and graduate student research, has sponsored several conferences, and is involved in a variety of bibliographic and outreach projects.

Just as the Center for Northwest European Language and Area Studies rests upon the unique resources and commitments of the University of Minnesota so the Institute of German Studies is supported by a highly unusual relationship between a European foundation and an American university. Both programs constitute a useful potential resource for a much wider community of scholars in the United States with interests in Northwest Europe and in Germany, but neither of these programs has as yet been able to devote much of its resources to this task. They have been involved,

as we would expect, far more with intra-university matters, and resources have not been available to encourage and support a wider view.

The Center for Italian Studies at the University of Connecticut was formed in 1966. It does not grant degrees but seeks to encourage inter-disciplinary training, promote support for field research in Italy, and develop an exchange of students and staff with Italian institutions of high learning. The Center has served since 1967 as headquarters for the Society for Italian Historical Studies. The program thus resembles in structure and operation those Western European area studies programs at Wisconsin, Indiana and other universities discussed above. In content, too, there are similarities, primarily because the founder and director of the program is a political scientist who has continued to emphasize the program's ties to the Social Sciences and History.

The principal activities of the Center for Commonwealth Studies at Duke University are a publication program and an interdepartmental seminar. Students are enrolled in the seminar, but do not receive certificates or degrees through the Center.

3. Dissertations and Universities

One of the aims of our survey of dissertation research on Western Europe was to determine the patterns of dissertation production among universities in different fields. It would then be possible to test these patterns against other variables--the existence, for example, of campus Western European studies programs, or the top-ranking PhD-producer universities in each discipline. Several problems emerged in the course of this effort. In the first place, we were unable to locate data on the production of dissertations by university in different disciplines. We have, of course, the data on the production of dissertations on Western Europe, and it is clear that the patterns of production of these dissertations are nearly identical with patterns of dissertation production in all fields (that is, those universities which tend to produce the most PhDs and which have the highest academic ratings are, in general, those which also produce the largest number of dissertations on Western Europe). These universities are also more likely to have campus Western European studies programs. But there is no way we can conclude that there is a special relationship between these top-ranked universities and research on Western Europe. It is likely that these same universities produce the largest number of PhDs on any particular field or topic.

We can conclude that the production of dissertations on Western Europe in most disciplines is highly concentrated by university, although it is difficult to say whether it is more concentrated than the average figures for each discipline. We have no good basis for comparison, but a rough rule of thumb seems to be that, across the board in the social sciences, the top four producers of PhDs account for about 25% of all dis-

sertations.[14] The figures for Western European dissertations are roughly similar.

According to our survey, 158 dissertations in History on contemporary Western Europe (1914-present) were completed between 1966 and 1971.[15] They were written at 47 universities. Five of these universities (about 11%) produced a total of 73 dissertations--about 46% of the total. Two of them--Wisconsin and Columbia--produced more than a quarter of the total.[16]

TABLE 3/9

HISTORY: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY UNIVERSITY

Number of Dissertations	Number of Universities	
1	22	
2	9	
3	6	
4	1	
5	2	
6	1	
7	1	
9	2	(Catholic, UC Berkeley)
13	1	(Harvard)
20	1	(Columbia)
22	1	(Wisconsin)
N = 150	47	

We identified 270 dissertations in Political Science on Modern Europe completed between 1966 and 1972--206 in the Comparative subfield and 64 in the International. They were written at 59 universities.

TABLE 3/10

POLITICAL SCIENCE: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY UNIVERSITY

Western Europe Dissertations	Universities	All Political Science Dissertations*
1	14	
2	12	
3	8	
4	4	
5	5	8.5. Indiana
6	4	8.5. Duke
7	5	7. New York
8	1 (North Carolina)	6. Berkeley
10	2 (UC Berkeley, UCLA)	5. Chicago
11	1 (American)	4. Claremont
14	1 (SAIS)	2.5. Harvard
25	1 (Harvard)	2.5. American
30	1 (Columbia)	1. Columbia
N = 270	59	

* Figures adapted from W.H. Peterson, "Doctoral Output in Political Science," PS, Vol. 4, No. IV (Fall 1972), p. 428. Data for 1971.

The top seven producers (about 12% of the universities) accounted for some 40% of the total, a concentration just slightly less than that of History.

According to an article recently published in PS, a publication of the American Political Science Association, the top nine producers of Political Science PhDs in 1970-72 accounted for about one-third of all dissertations.[17] The list of top producers in the discipline is very close to that of the top producers of dissertations on Western Europe. Columbia is in first place on both lists and Harvard second. American is tied for second on the discipline list and Berkeley a rather weak sixth. Claremont (which is not at all prominent in our ranking on Western Europe) was fourth, Chicago fifth, and Indiana followed in eighth place. UCLA and North Carolina are more prominent on the Western European list, but are

still among the major producers in the discipline list. The only major exception to this pattern is Johns Hopkins SAIS which ranks much stronger in the production of Western European dissertations than in the general discipline listing (because it offers PhDs only in International Studies).

The distribution of Western European dissertations in Political Science is more interesting when we separate the two subfields, Comparative and International.

TABLE 3/11

POLITICAL SCIENCE: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY SUBFIELD AND UNIVERSITY

International		Comparative	
Dissertations	Universities	Dissertations	Universities
1	20	1	19
2	5	2	9
3	1	3	5
9	1 (American)	4	8
10	1 (Columbia)	5	5
12	1 (SAIS)	6	1
		7	3
N = 64	29	8	1 (UNC)
		9	1 (UCLA)
		10	1 (UC Berkeley)
		20	1 (Columbia)
		23	1 (Harvard)
		N = 206	55

Table 3/11 shows that the production of dissertations on Western Europe in the International subfield is more concentrated than in the Comparative subfield. The top 10% of the producers (3 universities) accounted for almost 50% of the International dissertations; in Comparative, the top 10% (5 universities) accounted for only 34% of the total. These data also reveal the impressive specialization of the major university producers of Political

Science dissertations on Western Europe, as well as the distinctive character of the SAIS, American and Columbia graduate programs on Western Europe. SAIS and American students do dissertations which deal almost exclusively with relations between Europe and the United States or, to a lesser extent, with international relations within Europe. Students from Harvard, Berkeley, UNC and UCLA, on the other hand, do dissertations which focus almost exclusively on the domestic politics of European nations. Only Columbia, the leading producer in the period covered by our survey, is strong in both subfields.

As we have seen, Political Science dissertations on Western Europe cluster heavily on a few major countries. Almost three-quarters of them deal with Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain and "Europe". We had expected that country coverage might differ substantially among the major university producers of dissertations; that, for example, we might find a particularly heavy proportion of Political Science dissertations on Italy at Yale or on France at Harvard. In general, however, the major countries were about equally well represented at the universities which were strong in Comparative. Columbia, Harvard, Berkeley, and UNC fall into this pattern. At these universities, between 75% and 95% of the dissertations on Western Europe dealt with one of the major countries. UCLA is the exception. Here, about two-thirds of the dissertations focus on "other" countries--Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Portugal. American and SAIS, strong in International, also have a much heavier concentration on the more peripheral nations of Western Europe.

The main producing universities thus fall into two fairly distinct sets: those which produce dissertations concerned primarily with the domestic policies of the major European nations and those whose dissertations are concerned primarily with international relations within Western Europe and tend to focus to a much greater extent on the smaller, more

peripheral nations. As we have seen, this distinction parallels almost exactly the division between types of campus programs on Western Europe.

Dissertations on Economics in Western Europe are also concentrated by university although to a somewhat lesser extent than in History or Political Science.

TABLE 3/12

ECONOMICS: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY UNIVERSITY

Dissertations	Universities
1	20
2	7
3	7
4	4
5	1 (Michigan State)
6	1 (Penn)
7	3 (Cornell, US Berkeley, Yale)
8	1 (Columbia)
10	1 (Harvard)
N = 121	45

We identified 121 Economics dissertations on Western Europe in the twentieth century, written at 45 universities. The top five universities (11% of the total) accounted for about 32% of the total number of dissertations.

Tht total number of dissertations on Western Europe in Anthropology or Geography is too small to permit much analysis.

TABLE 3/13

ANTHROPOLOGY: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY UNIVERSITY

Dissertations	Universities
1	7
2	3
3	2 (Chicago, UC Berkeley)
4	1 (Michigan)
N = 29	13

GEOGRAPHY: DISSERTATION PRODUCTION BY UNIVERSITY

Dissertation	Universities
1	4
2	3 (Indiana, Illinois, Washington)
4	1 (Chicago)
N = 14	8

Dissertations on Western Europe in Anthropology produced between 1966 and 1971 were far less concentrated by university than those in the other disciplines we examined. The top three universities (about 25% of the total) together accounted for only about 25% of the total dissertations. In Geography, concentration by university is significantly greater. These two fields resemble one another, however, in that the major producing universities tend not to be those identified as major producers of dissertations on Western Europe in other disciplines. The production of dissertations on Western Europe in Geography in particular is identified with the strongest Geography Departments--mainly the large state universities at the mid- and far-West--rather than with the major centers of "European studies."

The data collected in the survey suggest that the production of dissertations on Western Europe is heavily concentrated by university in most disciplines--indeed, in all but Anthropology. The concentration is at least as great as that suggested in the Harris Statistical Portrait of Higher Education for the social sciences in general, and perhaps somewhat greater.

The major producers of dissertations on Western Europe--at least in History, Political Science, and Economics--are those universities which are the major producers of PhDs in all fields: Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley. We lack data on major producers in individual disciplines, except in Political Science where fragmentary data covering a recent three-year period indicate that there is indeed a high corolation between disciplinary producers and Western Europe producers.

TABLE 3/14

TOP UNIVERSITY PRODUCERS OF PhDs ON WESTERN EUROPE BY DISCIPLINE (1966-1971)

History	Political Science	Economics	Anthropology	Geography
1. Wisconsin	1. Columbia	1. Harvard	1. Michigan	1. Chicago
2. Columbia	2. Harvard	2. Columbia	2.5 Chicago	
3. Harvard	3. SAIS	3.3 Cornell	2.5 UC Berkeley	
4.5 Catholic	4. American	3.3 UC Berkeley		
4.5 UC Berkeley	5. UC Berkeley	3.3 Yale		

Although Columbia, Harvard and Berkeley all have campus Western European programs, it would be difficult to make the case that the existence of the program was responsible for the large number of dissertations on Western Europe. Columbia may be the exception, in that the existence of the European Institute under the direction of the late Philip Mosely perhaps

attracted students with particular interests in Western Europe, particularly in Political Science and History. In general, however, the existence of the campus programs and of the large number of completed dissertations are evidence of the prior university strength on Western Europe. But the programs are all quite new, and their influence is unlikely to be reflected in these data anyway. We certainly anticipate, for example, that at Harvard in particular, the existence of a very strong program on Western Europe is likely to exert a substantial influence on student interest and on the choice of dissertation fields.

4. The Council for European Studies and Other European Studies Organizations

The Council for European Studies was formed in 1970. Its founders--heads of Western European studies programs at several major universities (Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard, MIT, Michigan, Princeton, Wisconsin and Yale)--noted that there had recently been a revival of interest in European studies which included the formation of campus Western European studies programs and a visible increase in the amount of dissertation research undertaken on Western European topics.

> More of the best graduate students and younger professors...impressed by Europe's vitality and by its enormous value as a laboratory for work on comparative political and social change, are turning to European research problems. Older scholars, as well, whose previous interests may have centered on the developing countries or the United States, have come to see in Europe a valuable source of historical data and hypotheses about the modernization process." [18]

This increased interest in Europe heightened the need for an inter-institutional coordinating body:

> The shortage of first-rate scholars and teachers concerned with contemporary European affairs is still obvious, particularly at the middle and younger levels, as social science departments all around the country will certify. And while the overall situation is improving, great gaps remain. Serious comparative research has barely begun. Many European countries, especially the smaller and less powerful states, have been almost wholly neglected. There is a serious shortage of talented political scientists and historians interested in contemporary Europe, and an almost total lack of younger sociologists and economists.

They proposed the creation of an inter-university coordinating council "to do for the European field what has long been accomplished for Asian, Latin American, and Slavic studies through the various scholarly associations and journals." [19]

The primary tasks of the new organizations would be (1) to survey and disseminate information on resources available to researchers and on research in progress in the field of European studies; (2) to improve the quality of graduate student training in the social sciences on European affairs; (3) to stimulate collaboration between European and American scholars; and (4) to facilitate research on European topics. The major theme which ran consistently through the proposal was not the need to create resources for the study of Europe where none existed, but rather the need to develop means of utilizing existing resources more effectively and efficiently, and to apply old resources to new tasks. Part of the problem of European studies lay in the difficulty in convincing university administrators, foundation officers, and government bureaucrats that a problem actually existed: "Compared to the developing countries, Europe seems such familiar territory in a linguistic, cultural and geographic sense that it is easy to overlook the very real difficulties an American student faces."

The Council for European Studies, which began as a consortium of eight universities with a grant from the European and International Division of the Ford Foundation, aimed initially at creating inter-institutional and international programs and activities similar to those which had been developed earlier by professional associations dealing with the non-western areas of the world. Quite rapidly, however, CES acquired a self-image which sharply differentiated it from these "area studies" organizations.

In another proposal prepared for the Ford Foundation in the spring of 1972, the CES leaders observed that:

> ...the founders of the Council saw some similarities between the tasks facing the new organization and those confronted by the initiators of the non-western

> area study programs a decade earlier. The various "European study programs" established at a number of universities in the late 1960s were organized in much the same fashion as non-western area programs....

"Even at this time, however," they continued, "basic differences between European studies and non-western area studies were clear."

> The limitations of an area conception of the field of European studies have become still clearer in the past two years. We have found that many (if not most) American scholars in the social sciences with interests in contemporary European society and politics are unwilling to identify themselves as European area specialists and less likely to play continuing, active roles in local European studies programs. Unlike many scholars with interests in other world areas who are willing...to identify themselves as area specialists, even scholars with intensive interests in Europe prefer to define their interests in disciplinary and functional rather than area terms. Council activities have been directed increasingly to this wider community of scholars who share interests in problems and themes relevant to contemporary Europe but who do not necessarily consider themselves European specialists.[20]

The Council, the proposal noted,

> ...has attempted to retain and strengthen its connections with the "Europeanists" in the social sciences (mainly in history and in political science) and has begun to develop ties with European specialists on the humanities side. But its primary task must be to identify and mobilize the widest range of resources that bear upon the study of contemporary European society and politics, rather than to encourage the development of larger cadres of full-time European area specialists.[21]

Thus, CES increasingly sought to stimulate interest in Europe in terms of wider commitments to research on "those problems and themes which are common to the industrialized nations of Europe and North America, rather than to encourage a sense of separateness that seems to be the inevitable concomitant of an area approach."[22] Partly, this approach reflected the general disillusionment with area studies which increased significantly in the late 1960s; partly it reflected an effort by the Council to align

itself with new priorities emerging in the Ford Foundation, the U. S. Office of Education and other funding sources; partly it reflected a realistic evaluation of the role American scholars could continue to play as "European specialists" in the midst of the rapid development of European social science. The role of American scholars in Europe was much different than in other world areas. There could be no question of Americans serving as teachers to Europeans or of building a European social science. Instead, the primary aim had to be the development of meaningful international collaboration on matters of common concern on both sides of the Atlantic.

CES programs developed in three main areas: Information and Publications, Training, and Research-Related activities. The Council quickly established itself as the major center of information in North America about European studies. It maintains regular contact with many organizations and institutions in North America and Europe with interests in European studies. It collects information of interest to researchers working on European topics and maintains extensive "research resource" files. In cooperation with the University Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, CES sponsors a sizeable publications program which includes the European Studies Newsletter.

CES has sponsored (either by itself or in cooperation with other organizations) a number of international conferences and seminars. It has taken the initiative in the formation of "research committees" or working groups established with the purpose of developing programs in particular areas of inquiry. Funds have been made available to these groups to enable them to meet, to develop research proposals which will be submitted to foundations and other funding agencies, to sponsor workshops, seminars and conferences, and to prepare various materials.

The Council has played a particularly useful role in the development of programs designed to improve the quality of training for graduate students interested in European dissertation topics. The Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Program enables graduate students at the pre-dissertation stage to spend a summer (or an equivalent period) in Europe acquiring skills necessary for dissertation research, gaining pre-dissertation field experience, and most importantly, testing the feasibility of proposed dissertation topics. In addition to this, CES has also developed smaller programs which provide supplementary grants to American graduate students and younger faculty who wish to attend one of the major European social science summer schools and somewhat larger awards to recent post-doctoral scholars who have not worked in the past on European topics but who wish now to develop the comparative dimensions of their research interests in Western Europe. Finally, with the cooperation of the German Marshall Fund and the DAAD (Deutscher Academischer Austauschdienst), efforts have been made to develop new European language training programs for American social scientists.

Thus, the Council for European Studies has developed three quite distinct types of function, often performed by three different organizations dealing with other world areas. In the first place, the Council acts in some ways as an area studies association. Unlike the other professional associations which deal with a world area, CES does not have individual memberships nor does it sponsor an annual conference or meeting. It does, however, publish a newsletter and undertakes many of the information and coordinating activities that an area studies association would do. Secondly, the Council runs several major fellowship programs, parallel and similar to the Foreign Area Fellowship Program. Finally, it acts itself as a

"mini-foundation," providing funds for international conferences and seminars and various forms of "seed" money and matching grants for other activities.

Can an examination of the Council for European Studies or of its programs provide any evidence that would help answer the major questions posed in this report--that is, the nature and extent of scholarly interests in European studies? The membership of the Council serves as only a limited indicator. CES originated as a limited consortium of eight campus European studies programs. After two years, the basis of membership in the Council was changed and the membership expanded. Some twenty new universities, as well as the original eight, were invited to become "subscribing members" of the Council, and by the spring of 1974, about 30 universities (including the original eight) had joined. These included, with some exceptions, most of the major universities in the country. Some of them had European studies programs--about half did not. It is interesting to note that every university invited to become a member of CES did in fact join and pay its subscription fee, whether it had a European studies program or not. Certainly this provides at least a general indication of a rising level of interest in European studies among these universities. It is also interesting to observe how many of these universities began to develop European studies programs during this period--as we have noted in the first section of this chapter.

The Council's training programs provide rather better indicators of the nature of interest in European studies among graduate students in particular. During the first year of its existence, the Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Program was limited to participants nominated by the eight members of the Council, but subsequently it was run as a national competition.

A brief examination of the applications and awards made in the program provides some data on the nature of interests, at the graduate student level, in European studies. The first point to be noted is the impressive increase in the number of applicants for the program and in the number of universities they represent. In 1972, there were 102 applications from students enrolled in 26 universities; by 1974 this had increased to 188 applications from 57 universities. Of course, a substantial part of this increase reflects improved publicity for the program. Another share, however, must reflect a growing sense among graduate students (and their faculty advisers) that research on Western Europe had become more practicable, in the sense that increased funding to support dissertation research and pre-dissertation training was now available.

Secondly, when we look in more detail at data on applications and awards, the same patterns in terms of disciplinary spread that we noted earlier (and will see again in the following section on the Foreign Area Fellowship Program) emerge clearly. The program has been dominated by Political Science and History. (See Table 3/15: PRE-DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM: APPLICATIONS & AWARDS BY DISCIPLINE (1971-1973).) Some 57% of the applications came from these two disciplines and about 65% of the awards were made to graduate students in History and Political Science, a proportion similar to--although slightly less--than in the Foreign Area Fellowship Program. The greater weight on Political Science in this program, as compared to the FAFP, reflects the heavier emphasis on contemporary studies. It is important to note that 43% of the applications and 35% of the awards went to students in fields other than Political Science and History--more than a quarter of the applications and just under a quarter of the awards were in Anthropology, Sociology, and Economics. The data,

TABLE 3/15

PRE-DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM:

APPLICATIONS & AWARDS BY DISCIPLINE (1971-1973)

	Applications		Awards	
Political Science	119	(30%)	38	(40%)
History	104	(27%)	24	(25%)
Anthropology	43		10	
Sociology	40	(26%)	7	(24%
Economics	18		6	
Urban Studies	7		1	
Psychology	6		0	
Education	6		2	
Comp. Literature	5		2	
European Studies	5	(17%)	1	(11%)
Geography	3		1	
Philosophy	3		1	
Architecture	2		2	
Social Work	2		1	
Others	30		0	
N =	394		96	

compared to our study of dissertations, give some indication of the rising interest in Western Europe among younger anthropologists as well as of the difficulty in attracting younger economists into the area.

We have noted that the number of universities from which graduate students submitted applications to the Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Program increased impressively between 1972 and 1974 but, when we look at the universities to which awards were made, we still see a high degree of clustering.

TABLE 3/16

PRE-DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM: AWARDS BY UNIVERSITY (1972-1974)

Number of Awards	Number of Universities
1	13
2	5
3	1 (Stanford)
4	2 (Cornell & MIT)
5	2 (Columbia & Chicago)
6	2 (Yale & Berkeley)
7	2 (Princeton & Wisconsin)
8	2 (Harvard & Indiana)
10	1 (Michigan)
96	30

The top three universities received about 27% of all awards; the top five - 41%, very similar, as we shall see, to the corresponding figures for the Foreign Area Fellowship Program awards. More interesting is the way in which those universities with well-developed Western European studies programs (the eight original CES members plus Indiana) dominated the competition. These nine universities took more than two-thirds of the awards,

even after the program had become a national competition. This, of course, is entirely understandable. We have seen that these universities produce the most PhDs on European topics and that interests in Western Europe tend to be most extensive here; in addition, the campus European studies programs have taken a very large part in publicizing the Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Program and in encouraging applications.

The Council for European Studies is not the only organization of scholars that exists which deals with Western Europe. Indeed, during the last few years, there has almost been an explosion of new organizations.

In fact, several scholarly associations which deal with a number of individual European nations were in existence before the formation of CES. Basically, these were groups composed primarily of historians--the Society for French Historical Studies, for example, or the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies. Several considerably older groups focus on Britain--for example, the Anglo-American Associates, the American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, and the Conference on British Studies. Several of these organizations, mainly those built around a journal such as the Society for French Historical Studies, are fairly well institutionalized and have a membership which extends beyond historians. Several sponsor yearly meetings as well as a journal, sometimes in connection with meetings of the American Historical Association and sometimes not. The British groups in particular have tapped various Anglo-American sources of funds for a variety of activities.

A second, more recent wave of organizations is quite different in style and content. Following the lead of the Conference Group on German Politics, similar organizations on France and Portugal have come into existence during the past year, and at least four others--on Italy, Britain,

Greece, and the European Communities--are moving out of the planning stage. With the exception of the groups on Greece and Portugal (whose leadership is mainly in Anthropology), these organizations consist mainly of political scientists and focus their interests on contemporary society and politics. The Conference Group on German Politics, which has been able to secure considerable support from German sources, is the most successful of all of these groups and has developed a sizeable and valuable program of activities.

All of these organizations are based on individual members. The most active hold membership meetings in connection with yearly professional association conferences (the schedule for the 1974 meeting of the American Political Science Association lists dutch treat cocktail parties sponsored by Conference Groups on Germany, Italy, Britain, and France); sponsor panels at these meetings and at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association; put out newsletters; and, where funds can be found, sponsor conferences and other meetings. For several of them, the Council for European Studies has been a useful resource, assisting in the preparation of newsletters, maintaining computerized mailing lists, and co-sponsoring publications and programs such as Workshops.

All of these groups suffer from the same problems. They are weakly funded, and they tend to rely heavily upon the energy of one or two activists who make up with their own physical resources for the scarcity of financial resources. Those organizations of historians, built around a journal, of course, are likely to be more successful in maintaining themselves. The newer conference groups--other than the German Group--have yet to demonstrate similar prospects for longevity.

5. Foreign Area Fellowship Program

One other program has played a major role in stimulating and supporting research on Western Europe in recent years. The Western European division of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program (now the Western European Dissertation Fellowship Program of the SSRC/ACLS) has been the most important source of financial support for dissertation research in Western Europe during the past decade. Between 1964 and 1973, some 118 awards were made to support research (and in some cases training) relating to the study of Western Europe. Analysis of the applications to the program and of the awards it has made provide additional information--if not on aggregate interest on Western Europe among younger social scientists in America--at least on the universities and departments in which interest is strong and on those fields and countries on which research is more likely to be undertaken. The data from the Western Europe FAFP represent to a considerable degree an elite sample of all research in the social sciences on Western Europe. It is an imperfect but useful record of the university and disciplinary background and research interests on a highly select group of younger scholars who choose to do their dissertations on Western Europe.

In an article which appeared in the European Studies Newsletter in 1972, Gordon Adams, then Director of the Western European FAFP, wrote that :

> The Western European Program was created as part of the last wave in the establishment of

> area studies in the United States. Its original goals were conceived in area terms: to provide for the training of a core of interdisciplinary experts on Western Europe who could contribute to scholarly knowledge of the area and provide a background of expertise and understanding from which American policy-makers might draw. Understandably at that stage, the Program concentrated on comparative, interdisciplinary research and drew most of its applicants and grantees from institutions with strong Western European area studies faculties, principally in departments of History and Political Science.[23]

The program was open to pre-doctoral students in the social sciences and humanities enrolled in a full-time graduate program at American or Canadian universities who had completed all requirements for the PhD except the dissertation. Applications were also accepted from university teachers, high school teachers, and others, although few awards were made to any candidates other than graduate students. The program initially required that research be carried on in

at least two countries and that the awardee be proficient in the language of each of the countries to be studied. This requirement was later dropped however.

The available data on applications to the program do not support much analysis. They tend, moreover, to be confusing. Awardees were permitted to re-apply for extensions of their grants, and figures on re-applications (and on extension of awards) were aggregated with the figures on new applications (and new awards). Breakdowns on new applications and new awards are available for only a few years. (See below, TABLE 3/17.)

The total number of applications, which was relatively stable since 1964, rose sharply in 1970 and has remained consistently high since then. It is impossible to say, however, whether this increase in applications reflected a greater interest in Western Europe among graduate students or more strenuous efforts by the FAFP to publicize the program and attract applications. (See TABLE 3/17. FOREIGN AREA FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM: DATA ON APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS.)

The number of applications to the FAFP increased dramatically in 1970. Many more universities and disciplines were represented in the 1970-71 competition. But there was no corresponding increase in the number of universities or disciplines which received awards. Awards were made to graduate students in the same disciplines as in the past (overwhelmingly Political Science and History) and--to almost the same extent--to students from the same universities. A decision to deliberately widen the disciplinary base of the program was made only in 1973. For the 1973-74 competition, efforts to improve the publicity for the program were made in concert with changes in the content of the program (as well as with an increase in the number of available awards) which permitted a

TABLE 3/17

FOREIGN AREA FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM: DATA ON APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	1973 1974
Applicants										
Total	80	113	106	98	77	85	233	170	190	N.A.
New	77	111	96	86	67	74	224	166	163	186
Awards										
New	9	13	16	11	9	13	19	13	14	20
Extensions	2	1	8	12	8	11	7	4	19	N.A.
Total	11	14	24	23	17	24	26	17	33	N.A.
ratio: new awards to new applicants	11.69%	11.71	16.67	12.79	13.43	17.57	8.48	7.83	8.58	10.75

fairly substantial re-direction of awards to disciplines which previously had been under-represented in the program.

Although the guidelines of the program which were operative between 1964 and 1973 lay equal weight on the social sciences and humanities, applications and awards were dominated by the social sciences (including History). Only 11 of the 118 awards made between 1964 and 1973 went to students in the fields of Comparative Literature, Musicology, and Art History. Within the social sciences, applications and awards were heavily concentrated in two disciplines. Substantially more than 50% of all applications each year were made by graduate students in History and Political Science, and some 70% of all awards went to students in these two disciplines. (See TABLE 3/22.)

TABLE 3/18

FAFP: NEW AWARDS BY DISCIPLINE, 1964-1973

History	48
Political Science	35
Anthropology	7
Sociology	7
Economics	5
Comp. Literature	5
Art History	3
Musicology	3
Psychology	2
Geography	1
History of Science	1
International Rel.	1
total new awards =	118

When examined in the broader perspective of this study, however, the extent of this domination does not appear quite so remarkable, but

seems rather to be a fair representation of the research on Western Europe being carried on at this time in the social sciences. Of 11,760 dissertations identified in our survey as having been completed between 1966 and 1971 in five of the social sciences, 1,152 dealt with Western Europe. About 85% of these were in Political Science and History. Thus, the weight of these disciplines in the FAFP competition is not out of line, according to our evidence, with the state of the field itself. Economics has probably been the most seriously under-represented discipline in the FAFP competition, but it remains questionable as to whether more graduate students in Economics can be persuaded to build in to their programs the time commitment involved in foreign area research.

FAFP awards have also been heavily concentrated by university. The 118 awards made between 1964 and 1973 were distributed among 32 universities. The top four of these--Columbia, Harvard, Stanford and Yale--together received a total of 51 awards, or 43% of the total.

TABLE 3/19

FAFP: NEW AWARDS BY UNIVERSITY, 1964-1973

Number of Awards	Number of Universities	
1	15	
2	6	
3	1	
4	1	
5	1	
6	2	
7	1	
9	1	
11	3	(Harvard, Stanford, Yale)
18	1	(Columbia)
118	32	

Appendix I and II show the distribution of FAFP awards by discipline and university. The 48 awards made to History, for example, went to 17 universities, one of which--Stanford--received ten. The 35 awards in Political Science went to 17 universities, one of which received seven awards and another six. In Sociology, seven awards were made to five universities, but one university received three of them. Only in Anthropology--once again--is this pattern of clustered awards broken. Here seven awards were distributed among six universities. Of the four universities which won the most awards, two--Columbia and Harvard--received them in six different disciplines, while the awards of the other two--Yale and Stanford--were heavily concentrated in a single discipline. Ten of Stanford's 11 awards were in History, while seven of Yale's 11 were in Political Science (and three more were in Sociology).

FAFP awards have been highly concentrated by discipline and by university. The research supported by these awards has also been concentrated upon the major nations of Europe--France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain. Complete data are not available, but so far as we can tell, 109 of the 118 grantees did field work in Europe. (In the first years of the program, several awards were given for language training and other purposes in this country.) Sixty-three of the grantees did research in only one country. Of these, 16 worked in France, 12 in Italy, 10 in Germany and seven in Great Britain, a total of 45. Eighteen of the grantees did research in one of the "less important" nations of Western Europe. The remaining 46 worked in two or more countries. In all, we calculated that these 46 students made approximately 100 "visits" to countries in Western Europe--about 77 of which were to the four major countries.

When we compare these data with our work on the various disciplines, several points emerge immediately. There seems to be a greater amount of research on more than one country in this sample than we discovered in our dissertation surveys by discipline. Of course, during the first few years, the FAFP required that research deal with more than one country and, it is important to note, the FAFP data rest on visits to countries rather than on a breakdown based on the title of the completed dissertation. Students obviously could do research in (or merely visit) more than one country, but write on only one. Secondly, among those grantees who worked on a single country, a far higher percentage than in any of the disciplines did research on one of the less important nations--about 28%. Finally, those grantees who worked on one of the major countries were more likely to have worked on France or Italy than on Germany or Great Britain. In the general survey, dissertations were far more numerous on Germany and Great Britain than on France and, especially, Italy.

This last point is particularly interesting. It is somewhat easier to do research on Germany (because of the availability of documents) or Great Britain (because of the common language) in this country, and graduate students working on these countries might be marginally less likely to apply for funds to do foreign research. A more plausible explanation, however, is that the FAFP distribution reflects the research interests of the leading senior scholars in the field of European studies. Of the twenty individuals who served on the Executive Committee of the Council for European Studies between 1969 and 1973, for example, the primary research interest of six was Italy, of five France, of four "Europe", of three Germany, and of two, another country. Not one member of the Executive Committee during this period had Great Britain as his primary research interest.

Most of the members of the Committee have come from those universities which have received a lion's share of FAFP awards, and thus we can plausibly suspect that what we have seen in terms of the country distribution of FAFP awards is the impact of the research interest of a fairly small group of leaders in the field of European studies. We also suspect that as those students who have received FAFP awards complete their Ph.D. work and begin to teach, and to influence other, younger graduate students, research interest in France and Italy is likely to increase, while interest in Germany and Great Britain declines--at least relative to its present position.

As noted above, the Western European Program of the FAFP was conceived initially in characteristic "area studies" terms. By the early 1970s, however, the program was undergoing a substantial reorientation in a direction which clearly reflected the same interests and commitments we have observed in the other programs on Western Europe. Gordon Adams, in the article quoted earlier, notes that the changes made in the content of the program at this time were designed to encourage

> ...less emphasis on area study and greater emphasis on conceptual and analytical approaches that are problem-oriented and not area-bound. The "new" FAFP for Western Europe, therefore, has set itself different priorities. Essentially, the Program is strongly oriented to providing opportunities for North American social science students, solidly grounded in their own disciplines, to extend their area of concern and intellectual attention to European data and to establish networks of communication with their European counterparts working on similar questions.

Adams continues that,

> ...although the Program remains open to area specialsts, much of its effort in the next few years will go to attracting to Western European research high-quality graduate students in disciplines which

> have traditionally been poorly represented in FAFP competitions and in the study of Western Europe. These disciplines include, but are not restricted to, Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, and Psychology. The effort will be quite taxing in that these disciplines currently include relatively few specialists on contemporary Western Europe. Moreover, the structure for professional advancement in some fields puts primary value on rapidly completed dissertation research on American data. Nevertheless, the Program is convinced that the time is propitious for persuading larger numbers of persons in these disciplines to reach out for the kind of training and research focus on Europe that would greatly increase professional satisfaction. Further, it seems self-evident that broadening the data base for doctoral research will also serve to make American social science less parochial than is often the case.

Putting forward an orientation very similar to that of the Council for European Studies and several of the major campus Western European studies programs, Adams observes that still another feature of the new Program is designed "to erode the distinction between area and functional studies."

> Special consideration will be given to research proposals involving issues of public policy common to advanced industrial countries. These include such broad areas as urban problems, the enactment and delivery of social and welfare services (housing, health, environment, education), industrial relations, ethnic and racial politics, regionalism and political participation, to name only a few. Little truly comparative research has yet been done in any of these areas, though each is now beginning to draw scholarly attention. The Program hopes to contribute to the creation of new networks of scholars working on these topics.[24]

TABLE 3/20

APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS BY DISCIPLINE, 1964-1973

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973*
DISCIPLINE OF APPLICATION (total applications/total awards)									
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Anthropology	1/0	4/2	5/3	1/0	2/1	0	5/3	1/0	13/1
Archeology	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/0	0	0
Architecture	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Area Studies	1/0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Art History	0	1/0	5/2	3/1	0	0	6/0	4/1	1/0
Business	1/0	1/0	0	0	0	0	2/0	0	3/0
City Planning	0	1/0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Communications	1/0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conservation	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Demography	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Economics	6/0	8/0	3/0	2/0	6/1	6/2	6/2	6/2	8/0
Education	0	3/0	0	0	0	0	4/0	7/0	3/0
Geography	1/1	1/0	0	4/0	2/0	1/0	2/0	3/0	0
History	26/7	32/7	31/10	32/8	29/7	25/12	86/12	62/10	60/5
History of Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?/1
Industrial Relations	0	1/0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0
Inter-Departmental	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0
International Relations	8/0	14/0	8/0	4/0	5/1	3/0	8/0	8/0	5/0
Journalism	1/0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Language and Literature	6/0	10/1	11/2	18/2	7/0	10/1	28/0	21/0	14/0
Law	2/0	4/0	4/0	1/0	3/0	0	4/0	3/0	2/0
Linguistics	0	1/0	1/0	0	0	0	5/0	4/0	1/0
Musicology	1/0	1/0	1/1	3/2	2/2	2/1	3/0	0	2/0
Philosophy	3/0	2/0	4/0	2/0	0	0	1/0	4/0	5/0
Physics	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/0	0	0
Political Science and Government	21/3	24/3	29/5	23/10	20/5	23/6	31/2	29/4	36/5
Psychology	0	0	0	0	0	0	10/2	1/0	0
Public Administration	1/0	2/0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious Thought and Ethics	0	0	0	0	1/0	7/0	1/0	0	1/0
Social Planning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0
Social Welfare	0	1/0	0	0	0	0	1/0	0	0
Sociology	0	2/1	3/1	3/0	0	4/2	17/5	4/0	7/2
Theatre Arts	0	0	1/0	2/0	0	1/0	4/0	2/0	0
Urban and Regional Planning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/0	2/0

* New Awards to New Applications

TABLE 3/21

NUMBER OF DISCIPLINES WITH APPLICATIONS COMPARED
TO NUMBER OF DISCIPLINES WITH AWARDS
(total applications/total awards)

1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973*	1973 1974
15/3	19/5	13/7	13/5	10/6	10/6	26/6	19/4	16/5	N.A.

* Note: new applications to new awards

TABLE 3/22

HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE: APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS
COMPARED TO TOTAL APPLICATIONS AND AWARDS

1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973*	1973 1974
(Applications in History and Political Science to total applications)									
47/30 (58.7%)	56/113 (49.6%)	60/106 (56.6%)	55/98 (56.1%)	49/77 (63.4%)	47/85 (56.5%)	117/233 (50.2%)	91/170 (53.5%)	96/163 (58.9%)	N.A. N.A.
(Awards in History and Political Science to total awards)									
10/11 (90.9%)	10/14 (71.4%)	15/24 (62.5%)	18/23 (78.2%)	12/17 (70.6%)	18/24 (75.0%)	14/26 (53.8%)	14/17 (82.3%)	10/14 (71.4%)	8/20 N.A.

* Note: new applications to new awards

6. Conclusion

Quite a few programs on Western Europe have been formed in recent years. These include campus European studies programs and a number of other types of inter-university or membership organizations. The total number of these programs in no way approaches the number of programs on other world areas, but marks nonetheless, an impressive expansion of interest in Western Europe during the past ten years.

The largest and most active campus European studies programs tend to be located at the top American universities. These programs were formed where there were the highest concentrations of resources on Western Europe already available and at those institutions which already enjoyed more or less privileged relationships with the primary source of funds for these programs, The Ford Foundation. The campus programs have not really functioned to create new resources on Western Europe in these universities. Indeed, involvement has spread only slowly beyond the initial core of participants in most cases.

Most of these campus programs share characteristics which distinguish them from "traditional" non-western area studies programs. They were formed (and by and large continue to exist) with a basic orientation toward research rather than training. Participants are drawn almost entirely from the social sciences (and in many cases, almost exclusively from Political Science) with some somewhat lesser involvement of historians. In none of the major programs which we examined in detail--save Indiana--did scholars from the humanities play any role at all in the program and in no case was there any formal involvement or ties to language and literature programs. Thus, the entire apparatus of language training and area studies courses which has become such a common characteristic of

non-western area studies programs (at least those funded by NDEA VI), is absent from the campus programs on Western Europe. Few of the European programs have any instructional role or any responsibilities whatsoever in the curricular structure. Thus, few are at all deeply integrated into the fabric of the university, or desire to be.

Most of these programs, in addition, have distinguished themselves from the characteristic area studies program in terms of their own self-image. By and large, the leaders of the European programs have tended to reject intellectually what they view as the traditional "area studies approach." Whether this debate is valid or not, these views have had, as we have suggested throughout the chapter, important organizational and programmatic consequences. Many of the scholars who have taken the leadership in the formation of various programs dealing with Western Europe have emphasized more topical or problem-oriented research concerns, particularly focussing on the "common problems of advanced industrial societies", rather than more area-oriented matters. This has been particularly the case, we have seen, with the Council for European Studies. Behind these attitudes can be found, as noted above, a general rejection of "area studies," as well as an attempt to encourage--and follow--new lines within major foundations. We have suggested that these views also represent a more realistic view of the future role of American researchers in Western Europe and of a good estimation of the emerging research frontiers in the social sciences.

These views are not unanimous among American scholars whose research interests deal with Western Europe. Indeed, one sees some evidence of a growing "backlash" to a situation in which resources for research on European topics are limited to work on "common problems." Some historians and

a number of political scientists have urged that resources be made available instead to concentrate on the "non-common" aspects of European society, such as the continuing role of religion and class in European politics and society. Others, looking particularly at the different patterns of modernization and national development among the European states, claim that the possibility of meaningful comparative studies, even within Western Europe, remains questionable. Still, these views have not been the ones which have exercized the greatest influence upon the development of European studies in recent years, or have had the predominant impact within the various European studies organizations.

Several conclusions emerge from this examination of European studies programs and organizations. The rapid (at least in terms of scholarly programs dealing with Western Europe) growth of these organizations serves as a good indicator of growing interests in Western Europe in many sectors of American higher education, particularly--as we have noted before--at the frontiers of research in the social sciences. These programs have both been a product of this growing interest and have in turn stimulated and encouraged the expansion of scholarly interests in the area. Yet the programs we have observed remain characterized by their institutional fragility. They remain extremely insecure financially. The Ford Foundation, thus far, has provided the sole source of substantial funds for institutional and program development. Programs on Western Europe were formally excluded from federal funds in the era during which the government, through NDEA, played a major role in the development of programs on international education and area studies. Just now, when it appears that this rigidity is easing to permit programs dealing with Western Europe to receive these funds, the funds are in severe danger of drying up. Indeed, the crisis of funding for

all international programs has come just at the moment when programs on Western Europe are beginning to emerge. The Ford Foundation has drawn back from its support of these programs in recent years, and the new German Marshall Fund has made no efforts thus far to take its place. For the first time, Americans are beginning to appeal to Western European sources of funds, but it is unlikely that they will fill this gap.

We have seen that these programs are particularly dependent upon external sources of funds because they have had little support from their own universities. The typical Western European studies program has not put down deep roots in its own university, nor has it accepted responsibilities to the university which would guarantee it financial support in the future from the university. Thus, the final conclusion--despite the remarkable increase of interest in Western Europe among American scholars and the impressive increase in the number (and quality) of organizations which symbolize and further these interests--the future of all of these programs remains extremely insecure.

Footnotes, Chapter III

1. The International Programs of American Universities: An Inventory and Analysis (Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, Honolulu), 2nd Edition (1966), p. 8.
2. Sanders, Irwin T. and Jennifer C. Ward, Bridges to Understanding: International Programs of American Colleges and Universities (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), Chapter 6.
3. Ibid., Chapter 4.
4. Eckstein, Harry, "A Critique of Area Studies from a West European Perspective", to be published in Lucien Pye, ed., Political Science and Area Studies (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, forthcoming).
5. See, eg., Allan O. Pfinister, "Quality Control for Study Abroad Programs", International Educational and Cultural Exchange (Winter, 1972-73).
6. See the annual publication of the Institute for International Education, Open Doors: Report on International Exchange.
7. IIE, Open Doors: Report on International Exchange, 1970.
8. These universities include: U.C. Santa Barbara, U.C. San Diego, University of Illinois, Northwestern University, and the University of North Carolina (UNC).
9. This debate is discussed by Richard Lambert in his report on language and area studies; see Richard Lambert, Language and Area Studies Review (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, October 1973), Introduction.
10. The European program at American University was terminated in 1973.
11. The program at the University of Texas will also award a certificate.
12. Berkeley, Michigan and Yale, for example.

13. Several new programs of the (former) Institute of International Studies at the U.S. Office of Education now permit applications from programs with a Western European focus and, in the recent competition for NDEA Title VI Centers, applications from programs on Western Europe were also accepted within the new, general category.

14. Harris, Seymour E., A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), p. 383.

15. We did not use the data from 1966 in this section on History in Chapter II.

16. These data were collected by the American Historical Association, and may well be incomplete. Stanford is not included, for example, and yet it received quite a few FAFP awards in History during this period. See below, Part 5 of this chapter.

17. Peterson, W.H., "Doctoral Output in Political Science...Tables for 1970-72", PS, Vol. V, No. 4 (Fall 1972).

18. "A Proposal for a Council for European Studies, Submitted to the Ford Foundation, May, 1970", p. 2.

19. Ibid.

20. "A Proposal for Continued Support for the Council for European Studies, Submitted to the Ford Foundation, September, 1972."

21. Ibid., my emphasis.

22. Ibid.

23. Adams, G., "The Foreign Area Fellowship Program", European Studies Newsletter, Vol. II, No. 3 (December 1972), p. 7.

24. Ibid.

APPENDIX I: FOREIGN AREA FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

DISCIPLINE DISTRIBUTION ACROSS UNIVERSITY

Discipline/University	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	University Totals	Discipline Totals
Anthropology											
Columbia U.									1	1	
Harvard U.							1			1	
Rice U.							2			2	
U. of Cal. at Berk.		1								1	
U. of Michigan		1								1	
U. of Pittsburgh			1							1	7
Art History											
Columbia U.			1							1	
Indiana U.			1							1	
Yale U.								1		1	3
Economics											
Harvard U.								1		1	
U. of Illinois					1					1	
U. of Pennsylvania							2			2	
U. of Utah						1				1	5
Geography											
U. of Waterloo, Ontario	1									1	1
History											
Brown U.							1	1		2	
Cal. State, Long Beach			1							1	
Columbia U.	1		2		1		1	1		6	
Harvard U.	1	2		1	1					5	
Oxford U.				1						1	
Princeton U.			1	1			1	1		4	
Rutgers U.						1				1	
Stanford U.		2	1	1	1		2	1	2	10	

APPENDIX I (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	University Totals	Discipline Totals
History (cont.)											
U. of Cal. at Berk.	1							1		2	
U.C.L.A.						1				1	
U. of Chicago	1	1				1	1	1		5	
U. of Michigan						2		1	1	4	
U. of N. Carolina						1				1	
U. of Oregon							1			1	
U. of Pittsburgh								1		1	
U. of Wisconsin		1						1		2	
Washington U.								1		1	48
History of Science											
Harvard U.									1	1	1
International Relations											
Johns Hopkins U.				1						1	1
Literature											
Cornell U.		1								1	
U. of Cal. at Berk.			1							1	
U. of Iowa			1			1				2	
U. of Wiscorsin							1			1	5
Musicology											
Columbia U.			1	1	1					3	3
Political Science and Government											
Brown U.			1							1	
Columbia U.	1	1	1	1		2				6	
Georgetown U.									1	1	
Harvard U.			1			1				2	
Indiana U.							1			1	
M.I.T.	2					1			1	4	
Princeton U.				1						1	

APPENDIX I (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	University Totals	Discipline Totals
Political Science and Government (cont.)											
Stanford U.							1			1	
SUNY at Stonybrook				1						1	
U. of Cal. at Berk.	1									1	
U.C.L.A.		1							1	1	
U. of Chicago							1			2	
U. of Florida					1					1	
U. of Massachusetts		1	1						1	1	
U. of Michigan				2						2	
U. of Wisconsin			1	1	3		1		1	7	35
Yale U.											
Psychology											
U. of Michigan							2			2	2
Sociology											
Columbia U.		1								1	
Harvard U.							1			1	
U. of Cal. at Berk.						1				1	
U. of Wisconsin							1			1	
Yale U.							1		2	3	7

APPENDIX II: FOREIGN AREA FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

FAFP AWARDS: BY COUNTRY STUDIED, BY DISCIPLINE, AND BY UNIVERSITY 1964-1973

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
Brown University											
HISTORY											
France								1			
Germany							1			2	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
England & Germany			1							1	3
California State College at Long Beach											
HISTORY											
Italy, Spain, Netherlands			1							1	1
Columbia University											
ANTHROPOLOGY											
Italy, Germany									1	1	
ART HISTORY											
France & Germany			1							1	
HISTORY											
France							1	1			
France & Italy			1								
Greece, Rumania, Austria			1								
Italy					1						
in U.S. on Germany	1									6	
MUSICOLOGY											
Italy, Britain, Germany, France, Austria			1								
Italy, France, Germany					1						
Italy & others				1						3	

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
Columbia University (cont.)											
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Austria & U.S.		1									
Belgium			1								
France						1					
Germany, France, England				1							
Italy						1					
at Columbia (general)	1									6	
SOCIOLOGY											
at Columbia		1								1	18
Cornell University											
LITERATURE											
Switzerland		1								1	1
Georgetown University											
ECONOMICS											
Germany, Switzerland, England					1					1	1
Harvard University											
ANTHROPOLOGY											
U.S. at Harvard							1			1	
ECONOMICS											
Sweden								1		1	
HISTORY											
France, Austria				1	1						
France, England		1									
France, Germany, Italy	1										
Switzerland		1								5	

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
Harvard University (cont.)											
HISTORY OF SCIENCE											
France									1	1	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Germany						1					
Germany, France			1							2	
SOCIOLOGY											
Italy							1			1	11
Indiana University											
ART HISTORY											
Norway, Germany, Austria			1							1	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
England								1		1	2
Johns Hopkins University											
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS											
In U.S.					1					1	1
M.I.T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)											
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
France											
Germany & France	1								1		
Italy						1					
Selected European countries	1									4	4
Oxford University											
HISTORY											
England				1						1	1

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
Princeton University											
HISTORY											
France, Germany				1							
France, Italy			1								
France, Spain								1			
Germany							1			4	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Denmark, England				1						1	5
Rice University											
ANTHROPOLOGY							1				
Italy							1				
Scotland							1			2	2
Rutgers University											
HISTORY											
France						1				1	1
Stanford University											
HISTORY											
England									1		
England, France, Germany								1			
France							2				
France, Germany			1								
France, Italy				1							
Germany					1				1		
Dakar & Senegal		1									
at Harvard		1								10	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
England							1			1	11

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
SUNY at Stony Brook										1	1
POLITICAL SCIENCE				1							
Italy											
University of California at Berkeley										1	
ANTHROPOLOGY		1									
Liechtenstein											
HISTORY								1			
Germany										2	
in U.S. on Belgium, France, Germany	1										
LITERATURE -										1	
in U.S. at Berkeley			1								
POLITICAL SCIENCE										1	
Greece	1										
SOCIOLOGY						1				1	6
Germany, England											
University of California at Los Angeles										1	
HISTORY						1					
Italy											
POLITICAL SCIENCE									1	1	2
Norway											

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
University of Chicago											
HISTORY											
Austria, Belgium, Germany						1					
Austria, Germany							1				
Austria, Poland								1			
Germany	1										
Germany, Italy		1								5	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
England								1			
France & Germany		1								2	7
University of Florida											
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Norway					1					1	1
University of Illinois											
ECONOMICS											
Germany, Switzerland, England					1					1	1
University of Iowa											
LITERATURE											
France						1					
Italy, England, France, Germany, Spain			1							2	2
University of Massachusetts											
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Spain									1	1	1

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
University of Michigan											
ANTHROPOLOGY											
Spain		1								1	
HISTORY											
France								1	1		
France, Italy						1					
Germany						1				4	
POLITICAL SOIENCE											
Germany & France			1								
Italy		1								2	
PSYCHOLOGY											
Ed. - Sweden							1				
Soc. - Belgium, Canada, U.S.							1			2	9
University of North Carolina											
HISTORY											
France						1				1	1
University of Oregon											
HISTORY											
Italy							1			1	1
University of Pennsylvania											
ECONOMICS											
France, Belgium							1				
Germany							1			2	2

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
University of Pittsburgh											
ANTHROPOLOGY											
Spain, Germany			1							1	
HISTORY											
France									1	1	2
University of Utah											
ECONOMICS											
England, Switzerland, Belgium						1				1	1
University of Waterloo (Ontario, Canada)											
GEOGRAPHY											
Germany	1									1	1
University of Wisconsin											
HISTORY											
Italy	1										
Sweden, Finland									1	2	
LITERATURE											
England							1			1	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
Belgium, France				1							
Norway				1						2	
SOCIOLOGY											
Italy							1			1	6

Appendix II (cont.)

	1964 1965	1965 1966	1966 1967	1967 1968	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	Discipline Totals	University Totals
Washington University											
HISTORY											
France								1		1	1
Yale University											
ART HISTORY											
Europe (general)								1		1	
POLITICAL SCIENCE											
England & Italy									1		
England, Germany, Italy			1								
France								1			
France, Germany					1						
France, Italy				1							
Italy					1						
Sweden, U.K.					1					7	
SOCIOLOGY											
England, Germany									1		
Spain							1		1	3	11

Chapter IV

LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR NON-LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS

In the fall of 1970, the Educational Testing Service (ETS) sent out a questionnaire to some 16,500 American PhDs to determine the degree to which foreign languages were utilized during their doctoral studies and afterwards in their respective professions. The aim of the study was to evaluate the utility of foreign language requirements in PhD programs. Some 90% of the sample had fulfilled a language requirement, and the majority of those (80%) were required to demonstrate competence in two languages. Some 70% utilized foreign languages during and/or after graduate study.

A number of questions asked in the survey are of particular interest to our study. The languages most commonly used to fulfill requirements were (in order of importance) French, German, Spanish, and Russian. The survey discovered a positive correlation between the degree of proficiency achieved by the respondents and the utilization of foreign languages during graduate study. Further, it showed that some 59% of those who fulfilled the requirement did use foreign languages during doctoral study. The major exceptions to this finding were within the following fields (all of which had majorities which did not use foreign languages in doctoral studies):

Foreign Languages Not Used in Doctoral Studies

Psychology 82.1%
Economics 75.2%
Sociology 67.5%
Political Science 50.7%
Education 76.4%
Engineering 56.3%

It is noteworthy that 4 of the 7 social sciences involved in our survey of Western European studies in the U.S. had a majority of respondents who did not use any foreign language during the preparation for their PhDs.

A frequency count was made of the language skills that respondents utilized most often during doctoral study. (See Table 4/1. SKILLS USED IN DOCTORAL STUDY BY FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE.) Clearly, reading skills are much more often used than either speaking or writing.

The questionnaire also discovered some interesting facts concerning the attitude of the respondents toward the language requirement. Only 33.6% were in favor of retaining the requirement. 31.7% favored individualizing the requirement to fit each student's needs, and 27.1% were in favor of eliminating the requirement completely. When categories are combined, we find that 66% of the respondents favored some form of language requirement, although 59% are dissatisfied with the traditional form of the requirement. Dissatisfaction was most heavily concentrated within the social sciences. The authors of the ETS report observe:

> With some exceptions for specific fields within the three general academic areas, those in humanities and natural sciences tended to be most favorably inclined towards maintaining or individualizing the requirement, while those in the social sciences seemed least favorably disposed and advocated individualizing or totally eliminating the requirement.

TABLE 4/2

OPINION ON LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT BY SOCIAL SCIENCE FIELD

Field	Retain	Individualize	Eliminate	Total
Anthropology	131 (45.2%)	92 (31.7%)	45 (15.5%)	268 (100%)
Economics	70 (10.1)	261 (37.5)	323 (46.4)	654 (100)
Geography	75 (30.1)	111 (44.6)	43 (17.3)	229 (100)
History	346 (49.1)	244 (34.7)	69 (9.8)	659 (100)
Political Science	155 (27.3)	274 (48.3)	103 (18.2)	532 (100)
Psychology	46 (6.1)	248 (33.1)	404 (53.9)	698 (100)
Sociology	100 (16.8)	228 (38.3)	225 (37.8)	553 (100)
Average %	26.4	38.3	28.4	

TABLE 4/1

SKILLS USED IN DOCTORAL STUDY BY FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE

	Frequency of Response for Each Skill*	Percentage of Total of Doctoral Language Uses** (N = 11,703)
General comprehension, specialized passages	9,387	80.2
General comprehension, general passages	4,070	34.8
Translating into English, specialized passages	6,559	56.0
Translating into English, general passages	2,263	19.3
Listening comprehension	1,610	13.8
Speaking language	1,451	12.4
Writing language	1,005	8.6
Other	176	1.5

* Respondents could check each skill more than once.
** Respondents could check more than one language.

The Council for European Studies has during the course of recent years sent out three separate sets of questionnaires dealing with language training. The largest mailing went to scholars in the social sciences who had completed dissertations between 1966 and 1971 which dealt with Western Europe. The second group of respondents consisted of recipients of Foreign Area Fellowship Program (FAFP) awards for the support of dissertation research on Western Europe. The third group polled were the students who had received CES Pre-Dissertation Training Program awards. Questionnaires were mailed to an entire population in all three cases and thus the responses, though substantial, cannot be considered to be in any way a scientific sample. Nonetheless, the number of responses and the homogeneity of their replies provide a strong indication of general opinion on training in Western European languages for non-language specialists.

Analysis of the three groups of responses will deal with the first group as if it were a sample of the total population and the two smaller groups as samples of elite groups who have fulfilled specialized requirements in order to pursue studies on Western Europe.

The first group consisted of the 570 individuals who were identified in our survey of dissertations as having completed a dissertation between 1966 and 1971 which dealt with Western Europe. We were able to find current addresses for about two-thirds of these individuals and, of these, 129 completed and returned the questionnaire. Responses were distributed among disciplines as follows: Political Science 64, History 37, Economics 13, Geography 8 and Anthropology 7.

Respondents were asked five questions. The first three dealt with the individual language capacities and training and the last two dealt with their evaluation of their personal language training experiences and

their recommendations for improving training experiences for American social sciences. Since only the first two questions afford a real basis for comparison among disciplines, they are the only questions that we shall analyze with separate regard for each field.

The first question asked "In your opinion, what was the degree of fluency necessary to support your dissertation research?" The respondent was asked to fill in a 3 X 3 table with degrees of proficiency applied to reading, writing, and speaking skills in the foreign language. Table 4/3 shows a frequency count across disciplines.

TABLE 4/3

SELF-EVALUATION OF LANGUAGE SKILLS REQUIRED FOR DISSERTATION

	None	Minimal	Moderate	High Proficiency	Total*
Reading	1	10	25	97	132
Writing	9	57	47	20	124
Speaking	9	36	28	50	114

* Some respondents indicated more than one or none.

The data show that generally reading skills were thought to be of most importance. This correlates with the overall picture revealed by the ETS survey. The difference lies with these groups' higher ranking of speaking skills.

A breakdown of these figures by discipline reveals some interesting contrasts. Responses in Political Science put about equal weight on proficiency in reading and in speaking skills while historians put much greater weight on reading abilities. We were unable to distinguish between

the use of oral skills as a research tool (conducting interviews, carrying on surveys and so on) and as a means of communication with European scholars who share similar interests. Our belief is that political scientists are considerably more likely to use communications skills in this way than historians who remain much more committed to traditional solitary research techniques. Economists in the survey diverged significantly from the general pattern. Although they did consider reading skills of greater importance than either speaking or writing, the economists generally deemphasized the need for any language skills. A minimal level of reading ability was considered adequate for most purposes with no need for any further training in reading or speaking. Both anthropologists and geographers considered reading and speaking abilities to be highly important, and placed only slightly less emphasis on writing. (Indeed, some anthropologists indicated that a high proficiency in all skills was necessary for their research.)

Question two asked the respondent to evaluate his language abilities prior to beginning dissertation research. Table 4/4 lists the languages mentioned and indicates levels of fluency. (See TABLE 4/4. LANGUAGES USED IN DISSERTATION RESEARCH.) More than three-quarters of the respondents studied one or more of the top four languages. A substantial plurality of those who studied the most common languages--almost 50%--evaluated their skills prior to dissertation work as fair. Of those who studied the less common languages, almost equal groups claimed to be poor or fluent prior to starting their research.

These figures give some indication that these languages are acquired in different manners and with differing degrees of fluency. Those who study one of the first four languages have the advantages of an

TABLE 4/4

LANGUAGES USED IN DISSERTATION RESEARCH

Languages	Poor	Fair	Fluent	# of Respondents Studying Languages
French	23	53	25	101
German	23	37	37	97
Spanish	6	12	4	22
Russian	9	9	1	19
Other				
Italian	9	4	5	18
Latin	8	3	1	12
Swedish	2	3	4	9
Dutch	1	2	3	6
Greek	2	2	2	6
Norwegian	1	-	4	5
Portuguese	1	1	2	4
Danish	-	-	3	3
Basque	2	-	-	2
Finnish	-	1	-	1

Note: Respondents could list more than one language. 15 listed only one language studied, 52 listed two, and 59 listed more than two.

abundance of course offerings and instructors teaching the languages. Those who study the less common ones are less able to find courses or teachers. There are in this group, however, more native speakers of the language than in the first group. Those whose research interests require them to use a less common language are either at an advantage or disadvantage depending upon their ability as a native speaker or their necessary recourse to formal language training, which is often difficult to acquire or is inadequate to their purpose. A few of the respondents elaborate the difficulties.

> Other European languages go virtually untaught. Scandinavian, Dutch and Portuguese are rarely offered.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Swedish is seldom taught at American universities and when it is the content and pace are not adequare for social science research.

To evaluate how well prepared to meet the language needs of their dissertations research respondents felt themselves to have been, we combined the results of the first two questions.

TABLE 4/5

RESPONDENTS' EVALUATION OF ABILITY TO MEET LANGUAGE NEEDS OF DISSERTATION RESEARCH

Degree of Proficiency Acquired Prior to Dissertation Work	Degree of Proficiency Felt Necessary for Research			Total
	Minimal	Moderate	High	
Poor	4	2	2	8
Fair	7	14	28	49
Fluent	3	5	63	71
Total	14	21	93	128

The diagonal line in Table 4/5 separates those who consider themselves to have been prepared from those who believe that they were unprepared for the language demands of their dissertation research. A clear majority (75.5%) of the respondents consider that they were equal to the language tasks of their dissertations.

A breakdown of these data by discipline is particularly interesting. About 80% of the political scientists considered themselves prepared for their research, and most of those indicated that a high degree of competence was required. Historians, however, were second only to economists in indicating that they were unprepared to meet the language needs of their research--36% felt unequal to the high degree of fluency they said was required. Economics had the largest number who indicated that they were ill-equipped for their language tasks. At the same time, they also indicated that lower levels of proficiency were required for their research. Most of the respondents in Anthropology and Geography indicated that they felt themselves prepared to meet the need for high fluency.

The questions regarding the type and evaluation of training programs and suggestions for improvement can be best analyzed for the entire group rather than by breaking down the data by disciplines. The third question asked the respondent to describe the language training he had received. A frequency count was made of the types listed. The results are:

Native speakers and non-academic training	17
Pre-university (grammar school, high school)	52
University - undergraduate	83
University - graduate	26
Special programs (summer courses, Peace Corps, Foreign Service School, DOD language courses)	26
Self-taught or private tutoring	35
Study or residence abroad	68
Total	307

(The total is more than 129 because respondents could indicate more than one language and type of training.) Almost half of the responses (about 44%) indicated language training either in school before college or in undergraduate courses. About a quarter (22%) indicated some form of study abroad program or residence abroad, usually during the undergraduate years. Only 8.6%, however, indicated language training during graduate programs, and the same number indicated training programs sponsored by other institutions such as Foreign Service Training Schools, the Peace Corps, or NDEA Centers. More than 14% of the responses indicated that languages were self-taught or that private tutors had been hired.

What is most notable is how few of the responses indicated that respondents had relied upon regular curricular language programs to gain language skills and, in particular, had utilized any graduate level programs. Almost two-thirds of the responses indicated non-curricular (or at least, non-regular curricular) programs. Evaluations of the various language training experiences were requested in question four. Respondents were asked to rank their training experiences on a 10 point scale, with 10 as very effective and 0 as poor.

TABLE 4/6

EVALUATION OF LANGUAGE TRAINING EXPERIENCE*

Pre-University	6.7
University--Undergraduate	5.8
University--Graduate	5.9
Special Courses	7.2
Study/Residence Abroad	8.3

* (0-10 scale· 0=poor, 10=very effective)

There was considerable variance within each category, but these ratings do provide a reasonable overall view of preferences and dislikes. The regular curricular programs, both at the graduate and undergraduate level, were ranked by the non-language specialists substantially lower than other programs, even those at the pre-university level. Language training experiences which received the highest ratings were those which involved some form of study or residence abroad.

The commentary which accompanied the ratings reiterated the respondents' dissatisfaction with language training programs for non-language specialist graduate students. One respondent noted that they were

> ...a farce designed and oriented completely toward passing the graduate examination. Little or none of the training is useful as a tool for research, and so the time is usually just wasted.

There was also (as may have been expected) great acclaim for study abroad.

> Nothing replaces experience in the country itself.

* * * * * * * * *

> I think the most effective method is to have courses for summers or over a year in the country itself. The combination of systematic learning and feedback from experiences in stores, with friends, reading newspapers, etc., is difficult to duplicate.

The respondents offered numerous suggestions for the improvement of European language training for American social scientists. We have attempted to aggregate these suggestions into 6 categories for the purpose of comparison in Table 4/7, but have also included a number of the respondents' comments. (See TABLE 4/7. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING NON-LANGUAGE SPECIALIST LANGUAGE TRAINING.)

By far the improvement most often stressed was increasing and expanding programs for study abroad. As was mentioned before, the feeling of many is, "The best possible way to learn a language is to spend time

TABLE 4/7

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING NON-LANGUAGE SPECIALIST LANGUAGE TRAINING

Suggestion	Discipline		Total
1. More study abroad	Anth	5	
	Geo	2	
	Eco	6	
	His	15	
	P.S.	24	52 (29.6%)
2. Stricter requirements (return to university language requirement) or more intensive training beginning earlier.	Anth	2	
	Geo	2	
	Eco	3	
	His	13	
	P.S.	15	35 (19.8%)
3. Change in requirements (to suit individual needs) discipline oriented programs.	Anth	6	
	Geo	1	
	Eco	4	
	His	11	
	P.S.	6	28 (15.8%)
4. More specialized programs both domestic and foreign like NDEA language centers, Goethe Institute, summer residency schools.	Anth	1	
	Geo	-	
	Eco	3	
	His	6	
	P.S.	16	25 (14.2%)
5. More funding for training.	Anth	1	
	Geo	1	
	Eco	-	
	His	7	
	P.S.	9	18 (10.2%)
6. Upgrade existing language programs by changing teaching methods.	Anth	2	
	Geo	1	
	Eco	1	
	His	6	
	P.S.	8	18 (10.2%)
		Total =	176 (100%)*

* Total is greater than 129 because respondents indicated more than one choice.

in the country in which it is spoken and totally immerse the student in the instruction and use of the language." A substantial number of responses indicated preferences for either stricter requirements in the university system or programs to begin language training prior to entrance at the university level. Some advocates of increased requirements:

> Graduate courses should require reading knowledge of relevant foreign language as a pre-requisite.
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> ...too few social scientists are aware of the need for language facility until actually faced with the need for extensive field work at the research site. Accordingly, emphasis should be placed on language ability at the time of admission to a competent program. Serious candidates should be able to demonstrate knowledge of the social science vocabulary in their chosen language while in their undergraduate years.

The following is in support of training begun at an earlier age.

> My own biases are that language training should be given at the earliest possible age, say primary grades, when it is still easy. If that is not possible, secondary school is the best place. By the time a person is enrolled in a graduate or doctoral program it becomes extremely difficult to learn a new language and it takes time away from the work.

The emphasis on stricter language requirements is of interest particularly in view of the results of the ETS survey. One would expect, of course, these scholars who have had particular need for language skills to feel more positively about language requirements. One respondent who felt the requirements should be changed to suit the needs of the individual observed:

> First of all, I would only like to see language proficiency where it is necessary; e.g. for someone majoring in German history, the student should have a working knowledge of the German language. However, in my case (British labor politics) I fail to see the necessity of either foreign language. It was not used at all during my graduate study in my major area of concentration. ... ...[reorient] language programs from theoretical proficiency to

> pragmatic, practical objectives. Those in non-European fields should stress other social science tools in lieu of foreign languages. Then the serious student interested in European social sciences should be directed to a prolonged written and spoken exposure of the required languages...

Aside from the more standard responses, a number of interesting suggestions were offered for improvement of language training for social scientists. One person zeroed in on a need to change the teaching methods to facilitate the particular needs of social scientists.

> Greater concentration on speaking and writing are necessary, especially speaking ability for social scientists who engage in field study regularly.

There was also a call for "Better dissemination of information on available language programs," especially from people from smaller universities and colleges who would have less access to special summer language schools and might possibly run into difficulty as far as regular language acquisition went. Concern was expressed by many about the difficulty of learning a language (or languages) in the midst of the great demands of graduate study. One person offered his own solution:

> In my opinion to attempt to learn a language (and for most European research one requires several) in the context of a full program of graduate studies is detrimental. For the social scientist language learning ought to be approached as the acquisition of a tool rather than an end in itself, and the learning ought to be concentrated into a relatively short period when the student is in a position to devote himself entirely to it. I believe that two months of intensive work (say in the summer and preferably abroad where the language is spoken) is worth more than two years of language study shoe-horned into an already overly demanding program of graduate studies.

Another suggestion for improvement involving summer schools was outlined as follows:

> I think it would be well for a number of universities in a certain geographic area to cooperate in running a summer language program for Ph.D. degree purposes.

> Perhaps a two-fold approach could be adopted for each language offered--a) reading and translation and b) conversation. Students could take one or the other or both. One summer of intensive training should be enough to prepare for the Ph.D. exams. Cooperative summer programs could save duplication of resources and facilities and more effectively serve each university's needs.

Two respondents offered suggestions for change within the existing system of training. One noted that most language departments are oriented toward the teaching and research of literature and should be expanding their scope to become more relevant to other fields. Another respondent suggested the introduction of foreign language sources into the teaching of the social science itself. If this method were introduced at the undergraduate level, a student would be more aware of his particular needs for language training. Other respondents expressed the "Need [for] special programs in which language specialists and those in the discipline cooperate to provide appropriate training."

The second sets of responses dealing with language training are from recipients of Foreign Area Fellowship Awards for dissertation research on Western Europe. The total number of awards granted between 1964 and 1973 was 118. Questionnaires were mailed to each of these individuals (although current addresses were not available for each one) and 31 completed questionnaires were returned to CES. The questionnaire was not directed primarily toward matters of language training, but several questions were included which are parallel to those in the first survey.

We believe that this group can be considered as an elite sample of the wider population of PhDs who have completed dissertations dealing with Western Europe. They had to pass through a rigorous screening process to win the award. Language abilities were often considered in this process. Secondly, each of these students did do actual field work in

Europe. In general, therefore we believe that this group is likely to have faced more rigorous language needs than the first group and, perhaps, to be more self-conscious about their particular language experiences.

The first question deals with the degree of fluency necessary for dissertation research. Table 4/8 is a frequency count of responses to this question.

TABLE 4/8

SELF-EVALUATION OF LANGUAGE SKILLS REQUIRED FOR DISSERTATION

	None	Minimal	Fluent or High Proficiency	Total
Reading	0	0	26	26
Writing	1	17	8	26
Speaking	0	2	24	26
No response				5

These responses correspond to those of the first group in that reading and speaking skills are seen to be more important than writing. On the other hand, a substantially greater proportion of the responses in this group indicated a need for high proficiency in these two areas than in the the first group. (See Table 4/3 above.)

In evaluating their individual language abilities, respondents expressed a need not only for basic knowledge of grammar, syntax and vocabulary, but also for a thorough understanding of the more symbolic uses of language as it expresses a culture. The consensus seemed to be that the internalization of the needed language was a process of great difficulty owing to the circumstances of demanding graduate study, less than

brilliant language teachers, and spurious assumptions of the need for the training. It was therefore conceded by most that they only really began learning the language after exposure to the country and its people.

> When I went to the field, my language abilities were poor, except for a minimal ability to read. After about three months of talking to the people - of having to talk with them - things got better. Now I can read adequately, and speak well enough - not like a native, but so that I can ask what I want and understand the answers.

The need for practice of the language skills was emphasized in the field as well as in the classroom situation. As one respondent states it--"Language, after all, is based on use. The more contact with a language a student has the more permanently he learns the language's structure." One respondent went so far as to say that "I find classroom language preparation abominable: a lot of labor and very limited positive reinforcement."

Many of the fellows implied through their responses that they felt a close relationship existed between research needs and the ability to learn a certain language.

> Language training should be intimately related to research needs. My Italian was useful in part because I knew I needed to learn it for my research. The initial German training was useless, in large part because it was unrelated to any immediate research needs. When subsequently I needed to learn German, the process was much more effective and efficient.

Of course, the pattern here is a circular one, for if research interest stimulates the need and desirability for a language, does not language ability also stimulate research interest? One reply:

> I have no doubt that if I had been totally fluent in the language when I came, my research would have gone more smoothly and perhaps produced richer results in the same time period.

The third question investigated methods of language acquisition. We have divided the responses into seven categories:

Native speakers and non-academic training	7
Pre-university (grammar school, high school)	11
University--undergraduate	22
University--graduate	4
Special courses in this country	6
Study or residence abroad	26
Self-taught and private tutoring	7
Total*	88

(* Respondents indicated more than one.)

Responses of this group were similar to those of the first group, although the general pattern was rather more distinct. A smaller percentage of respondents had gained language skills through regular language courses during their graduate programs, a larger percentage stressed the value of overseas experience in language acquisition. One fellow noted: "I received regular undergraduate language training but this was largely unsuccessful. My real skills in German came from a 14 month extended stay there." Another respondent took four graduate language courses and still considered himself linguistically incompetent until he had spent one full year in the country. It is in fact the opinion throughout the samples that learning the language in the country in which it is spoken is by far the best way to do so if not the only way.

Question #4 probed methods of improvement of language training, and as might be expected, a substantial number of people advocated an

expansion of programs of study abroad. As one respondent put it:

> Language courses in this country may be absolutely necessary, but no one will really get to know a language well without some extended first hand familiarity with the context in which it is spoken.

Suggested improvements included:

Strengthen pre-university and university requirements	7
Change in such requirements to meet the needs of individuals	6
Expansion of programs for study abroad	18
Increased funding for training	2
Upgrading of existing programs and teaching methods	8
More specialized programs domestically and abroad	4

The sentiment is that undergraduate and graduate language programs could be helpful if fully mobilized and handled with the same respect as other graduate courses, but in any case they are not an end in themselves and must needs be accompanied by study of the language in its native environment.

Our results here, as in the mass questionnaire, point to language as the single most difficult obstacle to effective foreign area research. Though there is a difference between these two groups as far as background goes, it is difficult to point to any one place where this difference emerges with regard to language abilities. Responses in the second group tend to be more emphatic than the first group, particularly in recommending the need for overseas language training opportunities, but they are basically similar to the first group.

The third part of this examination of language training is based on responses to a questionnaire distributed by the Council for European Studies to recipients of its Pre-Dissertation Training Program awards in 1971 and 1972. Of the 68 students who received awards, 39 returned completed questionnaires. The primary intent of the questionnaire was to evaluate the program itself. Questions dealing with language use and training were supplementary to this purpose, and therefore are not always parallel to the questions in the first two questionnaires. The disciplinary breakdown of this group is similar to that of the first group: Political Science 18, History 9, Economics 5, Sociology 3, Anthropology 2, others 2. Five questions in the CES PDTP survey dealt with language related matters: the first three with the acquisition of language skills and the last two with the effectiveness of the training experience.

Question one inquired into the departmental language requirements of each respondent. Table 4/9 shows the responses.

TABLE 4/9

CES PRE-DISSERTATION TRAINING PROGRAM:
DEPARTMENTAL LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS

Two languages (or more)	10
One language only	16
One language plus other skill	7
None	6
Total	39

Of the 39 respondents, 33 indicated that they had to meet a language requirement of at least one foreign language. Only about a quarter of the respondents, however (10 of the 39), faced a requirement of two foreign

languages. Another 7 had some sort of option open to them, the most frequently mentioned of which was knowledge of one foreign language plus a related skill such as computer science or statistics. There were interesting inter-disciplinary differences. For the most part, only historians were required to learn two languages. Graduate students in Political Science were more often required to pass an examination in only one language, and most frequently had access to optional arrangements which involved one language and one other research skill. Only one economist had any language requirement at all.

Respondents were asked in the second question what language skills were necessary for their dissertation research. Most of the respondents felt that their research would require competence in one language, though with varying degrees of fluency. Somewhat less than a fourth of the group indicated that they would need knowledge of two languages and two respondents indicated needs beyond that. (See TABLE 4/10. SKILLS NECESSARY FOR DISSERTATION.) If taken by discipline, the breakdown is more coherent. The Political Science students felt overwhelmingly that an adequate level of competence in one language would be sufficient for their needs, while historians were divided between those who required fluency in one language and those who felt that fluency in two (or more) languages would be necessary for their research. Economics students, as expected, felt generally that language skills were not essential for their research.

TABLE 4/10

CES PRE-DISSERTATION TRAINING PROGRAM:
SKILLS NECESSARY FOR DISSERTATION

Fluency in one language	14
Adequacy in one language	7
Fluency in one language and adequacy in another	5
Fluency in two languages	2
Adequacy in two languages	2
Adequacy in three languages	1
Fluency in three languages and adequacy in two	1
None	6
Not Applicable	1
Total	39

TABLE 4/11

CES PRE-DISSERTATION TRAINING PROGRAM:
SELF-EVALUATION OF PRESENT LANGUAGE SKILLS

Discipline	Present Language Skill Adequate for Research	Present Language Skill Inadequate for Research	N/A
Political Science	12	4	1
History	8	1	
Economics	5	0	
Sociology	1	2	
Anthropology	0	2	
Geography	1	0	
Other	1	0	
Total	28	9	1

The majority of the respondents indicated that they believed their present language abilities (that is, after having completed a pre-dissertation training program in Western Europe which often included language training) were or would be equal to the demands of their dissertation research. It is interesting, of course, that a substantially greater percentage of these students, many of whom had not actually begun dissertation research, evaluated their pre-dissertation language skills as adequate than those students who responded to the FAFP questionnaire and who had, for the most part, already completed dissertation research. It is also interesting that the largest group of students who felt that their language background was inadequate was in Political Science, which may well be a reflection of the loosening of departmental language requirements throughout that discipline.

Question three asked the respondents to indicate the type of language training they had received. The profile of the responses is similar to that of the other groups:

Native and non-academic training	2
Pre-university (grammar school, high school)	12
University--undergraduate	23
University--graduate	7
Special programs in this country	5
Study or residence abroad	22
Self-taught and private tutor	10
Total responses*	81

(*Respondents indicated more than one)

Results here are almost identical to those in the first two groups of responses. The greatest number of people obtained language training either as undergraduates or during residence or study abroad. The next most often cited training was at the pre-university level, usually in high school. Few respondents acquired language skills in regular programs available at the graduate level.

The final question was designed to ascertain the recommendations CES PDTP respondents might offer to improving language training. Responses to this question were considerably more fragmentary than they were in the other groups, primarily, we suspect, because the main weight of the questionnaire was directed toward the PDTP program itself and not toward language training. It may also be, however, that since fewer of these respondents had in fact completed their dissertation research, problems of language ability did not seem as pressing to them. Certainly, the group most conscious of these probelms was the FAFP respondents almost all of whom had fairly recently completed their dissertations. The responses of

this last group did, however, parallel the others. There was strong support for the expansion of various study abroad programs which provided language background, and there was also a general emphasis upon maintaining language requirements. Several respondents indicated that an improvement of present language teaching techniques would substantially improve the situation.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The younger scholars with whom we dealt in this study generally recognize the need for adequate foreign language skills in their research on Western Europe. As would be expected of students who had done dissertations on foreign areas, their use of foreign languages in their dissertation research was much higher than the figures for the disciplines as a whole. Even so, there were interesting inter-disciplinary variations. Anthropologists and historians tended to see a much greater need for foreign language skills, while sociologists and economists tended to see the acquisition of language skills as somewhat less important.

But throughout the three surveys, language clearly emerges as one of the major hurdles to foreign area research. What is especially significant from our point of view is the general dissatisfaction that exists among these younger social scientists with regular curricular language training programs. That is, despite the enormous apparatus of Western European language departments and the large number of European language courses offered in every college and university, those students who wish to use these languages to carry out their dissertation research find the training seriously inadequate.

This is, of course, particularly the case with regard to the less frequently taught European languages--such as Swedish, Dutch, Danish and

even Italian. The opportunities to acquire a level of competence in these languages which is satisfactory to undertake social science research in the field are probably less than with many--if not most--of the languages of Africa and Asia.

But the problem appears acute even in those languages which are taught most often--French and German. Regular classroom training, whether at the undergraduate or at the graduate level, was widely felt to be ineffective in providing these students with the communications skills necessary to carry on their research in Western Europe. Two suggestions emerged most prominently in each of the surveys. In the first place, students felt strongly that exposure to the country was essential to the language learning process. They acquired language skills most satisfactorily in the country in which the language was spoken. Secondly, they consistently urged that language learning be more closely related to research needs. Regular classroom instruction in the United States failed to emphasize the particular skills required by social scientists undertaking research abroad.

Our examination leads to a number of recommendations: more attention must be given to those Western European languages other than French, German, and Spanish which are infrequently taught but are increasingly in demand among American social scientists; greater efforts must be made to enable students to improve language skills in Western Europe before beginning their dissertations; and efforts must be made, and should be undertaken through inter-university programs, to create new training programs in Western European languages geared especially to the needs of social science researchers.

Many of the students who returned questionnaires indicated that they had acquired basic language skills before beginning graduate school. Increasingly the impetus for learning languages at this time--undergraduate language requirements--are being removed. We are beginning to find that fewer and fewer of the students who wish to do research for their dissertations in Western Europe have acquired competence in European languages. Existing graduate level language training programs are seen to be the most inadequate of all language training programs. Thus, the problem for the future emerges clearly: to provide a growing number of students who wish to do their dissertations on European topics but who have not acquired adequate levels of language skills previously, with the opportunity to learn--effectively and efficiently--to use European languages in their research.

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Chapter V

LIBRARY RESOURCES ON WESTERN EUROPE IN THE UNITED STATES: A CRITIQUE

by Erwin Welsch

(Note: It was impossible, given the limited scope of this project, to embark upon a major survey of resources bearing upon Western Europe in American university libraries. This chapter of the report is based instead upon a memorandum prepared by Erwin Welsch, Social Studies Librarian at the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for the Library/Information Task Force of the International Education Project sponsored by the American Council on Education. Dr. Welsch has been closely involved with the Council for European Studies since its inception. Under the auspices of the Council, he has visited major university libraries in the United States to examine their Western European collections and to discuss problems involved in maintaining and expanding these collections with scholars and librarians on many campuses. His report is based largely upon these visits.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I

Somewhat bemused I have watched my colleagues involved in other area studies programs at Wisconsin go off to various conferences and committee meetings in various exotic or less exotic locations to discuss with their colleagues and faculty from other institutions the library and resource needs for their areas. Africanists at Northwestern; Southeast

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Asia temporarily moved to Boston in a meeting of librarians concerned with Southeast Asian affairs; librarians of the Middle East forming an association and meeting regularly; and the Latin Americanists either viewing their subject at first hand in the Caribbean--since that was in the midst of a Wisconsin winter bemusement was tinged with jealousy-- or at a domestic location which drew more than one hundred participants. Those librarians concerned with Western Europe and responsible for Western European library resources lack any similar organization and remain in isolation, unable to share in the invaluable, informal information exchange with colleagues which characterizes such meetings: everything from such mundane matters as which microfilm firms are performing well or what new service has started, to more concrete and substantial matters concerning the viability of funding some new project through one of the cooperative microfilming programs such as CAMP (Co-operative Africana Microfilming Program) or SAMP (South Asia Microfilm Program). Since in each instance the librarians are firmly attached to the national scholars' organization and meet together with them, they also benefit from the information on research trends and future activities which they glean from papers delivered at these conferences.

In contrast, librarians concerned with Western Europe have no organization, are in large part not attached to any formal group of scholars concerned with West Europe, and do not share in the information exchange between faculty and librarians which has proven beneficial to other area studies programs. Some years ago the former Director of Libraries at Wisconsin formulated what William Dix subsequently termed "Kaplan's Law,"

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namely that two faculty members joined together in an area studies program generated more than twice the number of requests than would have been the case if each had acted independently. In other words contact stimulated activity and the whole was greater than the sum of its parts. In this same way increased contact of librarians with scholars on a national level and the opportunity for interchange with faculty members beyond the immediate circle of their university faculty would stimulate librarians concerned with Western Europe to consider broader data and resource questions and hopefully to deal more effectively with area-wide problems. They would not generate twice as many order slips, but rather recommendations reflecting increased awareness of area problems. The need for personal interaction and informal information exchange is so pervasive that the establishment of some formal organization to provide on a regular basis for such interchange among colleagues and between faculty and librarians would be a first priority on my list of immediate needs. Funding for such an organization need only be modest, but it needs some formal organizational structure within which librarians concerned with West Europe can function.

Unlike other area studies, West European lacks the leadership and assistance in a broad range of reference and organizational tasks which the Library of Congress provides. Since the demise of the European Affairs Division at the Library of Congress in the mid-1950's there has not been any single division or section devoted to major areas of Western Europe. Dr. Arnold Price performs invaluable services for those scholars in the German field through the compilation of bibliographies and the furnishing of invaluable information. But his position is due to an

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accident of Cold War diplomacy--a divided Germany--rather than to a calculated decision on the part of the Library of Congress to ensure that these area experts are available to assist all scholars. With more than 89,000 bibliographically identifiable items distributed in the two Germanies alone, Dr. Price, although he strives valiantly to do so, hardly has time to devote to other German-speaking countries or to organizational possibilities since in addition he compiles the valuable list of German publications for each issue of the American Historical Review. The Library of Congress needs to add specialists in the Nordic countries, in France, in the low countries, and in the European countries which surround the Mediterranean. With this core of specialists the Library of Congress could again assume the position of leadership in the West European field which it once had.

II

One result of the lack of national interaction among faculty members and librarians on any but the local level--that is, contact with only the faculty to whom one is responsible--is a failure to develop a national consciousness among librarians of the current directions of social scientific and historical research on Western Europe and the demands these will place on the Library. Particularly noticeable is a lack of knowledge of the importance of machine-readable data and data archives. Wisconsin is a university where empirical research tends to dominate social science teaching and research programs and consequently my beliefs may be somewhat biased, but in addition I had the benefit of an extended visit to eight major research institutions in 1971 and conversations with

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faculty and librarians which substantiated my beliefs. From my experiences at Wisconsin and from the discussions I had three years ago, I have come to believe that substantially fewer faculty members and students rely on libraries as primary sources of research information or information resources and that the trend away from reliance on library research is accelerating. Much of their information and much of their research is based on large data files which they generate themselves, obtain from a large commercial source, e.g. Gallup International, or from governmental agencies, e.g. L'Institut Nationale de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques and its computerization of French census materials. Yet few libraries have accepted or incorporated these new sources of information within their systems. They cite excessive cost as a major deterrent. If Wisconsin's example is typical, a reasonably sized data and program library service would total approximately $90,000/year, a fraction of most research library budgets. If historians increasingly become "cliometricians" and turn toward non-printed, machine-readable sources of information for research on Western Europe and if libraries fail to provide such services, they will ceasebeing the unique information source for a group which has traditionally provided major support for libraries.

Coupled with the tendency towards the use of machine-readable data, particularly among younger social scientists, is a movement towards large-scale comparative and interdisciplinary research in which scholars from several departments or areas jointly examine a common problem. In the last five years there have developed programs on comparative urban research as part of the Council for European Studies, an international

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peasant studies program which is active and publishes a thriving newsletter, and seminars and programs on such topics as advanced industrial societies. Frequently these projects do not find the information services they expect of a library and create project assistants who function as librarians and bypass traditional library information and collection development departments. Many librarians ostensibly concerned with Western Europe and in control of the acquisition and information programs in libraries are not aware of the existence of these programs.

Perhaps the problems are related to the characteristics and organization of the librarians themselves. Most have been trained in traditionally-oriented humanistic disciplines--most commonly history or literature--and are not aware of social scientists' needs. Although they typically know several European languages, they do not understand the specialized language social scientists use and consequently are unable to understand their expectations. Librarians concerned with providing information on and resources about contemporary Western Europe need the opportunity for re-tooling, for developing the new skills which the current generation of scholars demands of them. Although obviously this is a problem which fundamentally relates to the graduate education of librarians and therefore outside the scope of this paper, this writer still believes that a program of offering funds for advanced training in social science techniques--particularly funds for librarians concerned with West Europe to attend one of the annual summer training programs held at the Institute for Empirical Social Research in Cologne, Germany--would be of substantial benefit in that it would familiarize them with techniques and resources and enable them better to serve the academic community.

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It could also be argued that there is a substantial need for increased familiarization with more traditional resources. Since librarians concerned with West Europe have not had as generous access, as scholars dealing with the area have not, to the travel funds which have accompanied grants to other area studies programs, many have not had the opportunity to benefit from personal contact with their counterparts in European libraries or the European book trade. More importantly, few have had the experience of doing research over an extended period in a European country or working in European libraries and archives. Such experience would enable them to communicate to students the difficulties they are likely to encounter when doing research abroad and instruct students in the techniques needed to use their time efficiently.

What this writer regards as a second priority is provision of opportunities for librarians concerned with West Europe to develop their skills through grants for increased educational experiences. Summer scholarships for study at Cologne could be offered and combined with them a small grant for travel. The exchange programs now existing among faculty which bring European scholars to the United States and send American academics could be expanded to include librarians. It would be beneficial for institutions and scholars if American librarians could exchange places with colleagues doing comparable work in European institutions.

III

The failure of American libraries and librarians to provide certain types of basic guides, handbooks, and union lists to West European materials in their collections has hampered scholarship and made more difficult the

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cooperative efforts which are needed in the face of the number of items published each year in West European countries. It was the Library of Congress, this writer believes, which identified more than 80,000 bibliographically distinct items published in the two Germanies in a single year. Other countries have similarly high literacy and publishing statistics and make cooperative efforts and knowledge of the contents of American collections mandatory. Yet the volume of publication makes projects difficult: the dimension of the problem is enormous. Perhaps it is for this reason that so comparatively few efforts have been made to describe American collections on West Europe. Heinz and Peterson's two guides to the Hoover Institution's collection on contemporary France are superb models; Hersch's guide to the German collection at Indiana is also useful, although different in style. These demonstrate what devoted individuals can accomplish with relatively small grants.

What we need are guides to the holdings, comparable to the two described, for other European countries and for special topics. As this writer has demonstrated in his article on Scandanavian resources, present guides to that area are inadequate and there are no resources to fund a comprehensive guide to Nordic countries currently attracting much research attention. A union list of American library holdings of the publications of European pressure groups and political parties merits support as does a union list of European government publications. Sponsorship of intensive surveys of individual collections of West European materials in American libraries comparable to the surveys on Eastern European countries sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and ably conducted by Dr. Horecky of the Library of Congress would be an expensive and

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extensive undertaking but would provide for West European scholars more effective means of utilizing current resources on West Europe already in American libraries, make manifest what is not now available, and further cooperative acquisition and collection development programs. One extention of this program would be the creation of complete runs of materials now held only in fragmentary form in several libraries, their eventual microfilming, and deposit in a centralized location available for loan, as the bound volumes frequently are not. Such programs or rationalization of resources are only possible once we know what our resources are.

IV

Cited most frequently by detractors of renewed focus on problems of West European library acquisitions and resources are the expertise already available for research and the organized book trades in West Europe which readily supply all needs. We are told that there simply are no problems. Those of us who struggle to get books from the Iberian Peninsula; government publications from Italy, or the publications of political parties and pressure groups throughout Europe would challenge this facile assumption. I suspect I have already become known as the library scold on this topic, but let me cite a few statistics concerning library holdings which tend to make me believe that the West European situation might bear investigation.

Wisconsin collects or tries to collect publications of political and pressure groups from Western Europe. Recently we took a sample of 120 British pamphlets of substantial size published between 1971 and 1975--excluding leaflets of only a few pages--and found that less than 20 percent

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were represented in the National Union Catalog or by L.C. cataloging. Since we depend on L.C. cataloging, lack of L.C. coverage will mean that the likelihood of these being represented in the NUC within a reasonable time is small. Yet they represent the work of such organizations as the National Claimants Union--an organization of people on British social security who are critical of the British system and present statistical information not found in governmental sources on the malfunctioning of the British welfare and health delivery systems--topics of keen interest to American social scientists. Publications relating to Northern Ireland, from such organizations as the British and Irish Communist Organization or radical Protestant or Catholic groups were poorly represented despite the prominence of the topic. Of dissident groups who have found refuge in England, such as the Spanish Workers' Defense Committee's report on the plight of trade unionism in Spain, there was no sign. The Release Lawyers' Group and other organizations writing on prison and legal reforms and a variety of groups too diverse to list ranging from black nationalism to workers' control were not represented. It would be unfortunate for scholars to waste precious time abroad reading pamphlets available in the U.S., but not found because of lack of knowledge of their availability. The situation was worse for periodicals. We checked twenty against New Serials Titles and found but two. Among the eighteen lacking was Social Action, an anti-establishment journal critical of British welfare. Yet a dozen libraries held a periodical of the same title published in New Delhi--presumably brought in through PL480.

Another survey, based on Library of Congress proof slips, showed similar results. The sample consisted of proof slips shipped in January

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1972 and received by the University of Wisconsin. The slips were sorted by classification and their characteristics examined. In the History classification, of 547 titles, 19 dealt with France (147 were on Far Eastern, 127 on Slavic and East European, and 28 on African topics). The social science classifications were counted according to language rather than by topic. Slavic languages predominated. Of 752 non-English titles in the H classification, 238 were in Slavic languages (32 percent); of the 133 in the J classification 68 (more than 50 percent) were in Slavic languages. Unfortunately Oriental languages were excluded so the sample is not entirely representative, but the slips showed a sizeable representation of books on the Far East. (See Appendix I of this chapter.)

What I am not suggesting is that any area is less important or that these materials should not be acquired and cataloged, but rather that there exists an imbalance which, it seems to me, results in part from the inability of Western Europeanists to speak with a unified and consequently more effective voice at the Library of Congress or assign West European materials a higher priority. In this respect the re-establishment of a Western European Division at the Library of Congress is of paramount importance, for such a division could provide needed leadership.

V

Establishment and support of other area studies programs has enabled us to make great strides in achieving a broader and deeper understanding of the world than that we had when study of history and literature was largely confined to Europe. But now, as we become aware of the common sharing of problems in post industrial societies, the meaning of

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the Atlantic community, and the need for new relations between the United States and a uniting Economic Community, Western Europe needs just this same emphasis. Increased sponsorship of faculty research and improved student training programs are needed. The Council for European Studies in three years did a great deal to improve the study and teaching of Western Europe. Through its European Studies Newsletter it established a viable means of communicating activities and information across a broad segment of the academic community actively concerned with Western Europe. It has made possible the interaction of scholars whose primary research interest was the United States with "West Europeanists" with a resulting heightened awareness of the communality of some problems. Its pre-dissertation training grants have enabled students to do preliminary work in European libraries and archives and thereby determine the availability of research materials. Its publications program has produced works which found immediate acceptance in the academic community. The activities of the Council and stirrings in the academic community suggest that there is a renewed interest in Western Europe, but along different research lines than that which had predominated in the past and that, if funds became available, a significant rise in the level of research activity will result.

Librarians must be made aware of this renewed interest in contemporary Western Europe and be equipped to meet its challenges. This can best be achieved through sponsorship of a program which would:

1) establish an organization of librarians concerned with dealing with Western European materials in their libraries to meet in conjunction with scholars; an organization comparable to that which already exists for most of the other area studies programs;

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2) provide for the training or re-tooling of librarians through educational or professional experiences in order that they might better be able to meet the demands for non-traditional resources--particularly machine-readable data--which changes in the mode of study of West Europe are thrusting upon us;

3) sponsor the compilation of guides to collections and union lists which would thoroughly describe resources now available in American libraries, not only to enable them to be used more efficiently now, but to enable us to cooperate more intelligently in the future;

4) encourage the re-establishment of a Division of West European Affairs at the Library of Congress comparable to that which exists for other areas; the leadership of the Library of Congress in this field is badly needed;

5) examine present national and cooperative acquisition programs both quantitatively and qualitatively in order to determine whether current needs and immediately anticipated future needs of American scholars are being met.

I believe we still want to live up to the ideals Professor Steven Muller expressed at another library conference a decade ago when he said that, "American universities...train the servants of a mature nation in an international society...people who are challenged to project the American dream beyond our shores far more intensively than ever before." Unless we have librarians equipped to provide resources and aid to enable scholars to understand the European world of today, we shall not be able to project our ideals nor understand Western Europe's. An area towards which we should be directing a major effort will be ignored and our program of international education will suffer. We will again return to learning about only a part of the world in which we live.

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Chapter V

Appendix 1

The object of this survey was to make an estimate of Library of Congress acquisitions by subject and by country of origin of the books acquired. Library of Congress was not able to supply the information in the detail required. Consequently we sought another means of measuring acquisitions and settled on sampling proof slips representing books classified by the Library of Congress. The method used was as follows:

1. Four shipments of proof slips received in January 1972 were sorted by classification numbers assigned.

2. Seven classifications were selected for comparison: B-BX (philosophy and religion, but excluding psychology); J-JX (political science); D-DU (European history); H-HX (social sciences); M (music); N (art); and P-PZ (language and literature).

3. A total of 5522 slips in these classifications were sorted and counted. Sorted by classes the following totals were reached:

B-BX	373	(6.8%)
D-DT	547	(9.9%)
H-HX	1198	(21.7%)
J-JX	219	(3.9%)
M	253	(4.5%)
N	461	(8.4%)
P-PZ	2471	(44.8%)
	5522	100.0%

4. The D, P, and B classifications were examined in more detail. The following patterns emerged:

a) Of the 547 slips in D-DT (history), 147 were in DS (Far Eastern) and 127 in DK and DR (Slavic and East European). In order

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followed Germany (69), Great Britain (64), Africa (38), Austria (the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, 20), France (19) with the others less than 15 each.

b) Within the literature (P) classifications the rank order for those over 50 years was:

PZ	(fiction)	418
PQ	(Romance literature	412
PL	(literature of East Asia, Africa, Oceania)	292
PG	(Slavic)	274
PT	(Germanic literature)	274
PK	(Indo-Iranian)	156
PR	(literary history and collections)	149
PE	(English literature)	146
PS	(American literature)	68
PC	(Romance languages)	56
PH	(Finno-Ugrian, Basque lang. and literature)	54
PJ	(oriental language and literature)	50

c) Within the B classification the following order was found:

B	(philosophy, general)	109
BL-BM	(religions, mythology, Judaism)	85
BS-BV	(Bible, theology)	72
BX	(special denominations)	72
BR	(Christianity)	22
BP	(Mohammedanism)	13

5. A survey of the H and J classifications subdivided by finer subject divisions demonstrated little. For the H classification there was a decided bulge in the HC and HD (economic history and conditions) classifications (556 slips total) and decidedly fewer in the HN (social history and conditions) classification (43 slips), but these differences were not regarded as significant. For the J classification the JN's (constitutional history of Europe) predominated with 95 clips but no other pattern was clear.

To provide a different kind of measure the slips in the H and J classifications were sorted by language rather than subject. Not

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surprisingly English was the predominate language for both classifications.

Following in rank order for the P classification were:

1. Slavic and East-European	(238 slips)
2. German	(182 slips)
3. Scandinavian	(107 slips)
4. Dutch	(59 slips)
5. French	(55 slips)
6. Italian	(38 slips)
7. Spanish and Portuguese	(36 slips)

Following in rank order for the J classification were:

1. Slavic and East European	(68 slips)
2. German	(33 slips)
3. Scandinavian	(10 slips)
4. French	(9 slips)
5. Italian	(5 slips)
6. Dutch	(5 slips)
7. Spanish and Portuguese	(3 slips)

It should be noted at this point that Oriental languages had to be excluded since they were not included in the proof slip shipments used in this sample.

Before drawing any conclusions the limitations of this survey must be stressed. In the first place the sample represents only a fraction of those items fully cataloged at the Library of Congress during 1972. It is not necessarily representative of all items acquired since cataloging is subject to vagaries such as availability of staff which may skew output at any one moment. We noted that shipments tended to be unevenly divided and had clear peaks and valleys. To be more accurate and representative, this survey should be conducted over a longer period of time.

With these limitations in mind we would still suggest that

1) acquisitions in the general field of the humanities were numerically superior to history and the social sciences. For example, twice as many books were acquired in the fields of language and literature as in the

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social sciences and more books were acquired in each of the fields of religion/philosophy, art and music than in political science. 2) Within the social sciences there emerged a clear pattern of emphasis, aside from those books in English, on publications, first, from the East European countries, second, from the northern European countries, and third, from the southern European countries. There is a considerable discrepancy in numbers between acquisitions in the first two groups over that in the third.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

I

Richard Lambert observes several times that the central motifs of language and area studies have been very simple ones: (1) there are far too few Americans who are professionally competent with respect to the countries outside of the United States and Western Europe, and (2) our general educational process is overly European and American centered, thus stunting the growth of a more cosmopolitan view among students and, more broadly, among the public at large.[1] The major themes which have motivated European studies, since the middle 1960s, have been equally straightforward; they suggest that the conventional wisdom that current levels of professional expertise in the United States on Western Europe are sufficient to meet national political, economic and educational needs is mistaken, and that American scholars, particularly in the social sciences, have grown increasingly out of touch with the development of Western Europe in recent years and with the emerging community of Western European social scientists.

It was impossible to conduct a survey of Western European studies that would parallel Lambert's examination of language and area studies. In the first place, funds were not available to support a large-scale individual survey. More importantly, even if funds had been available, it would have been impossible to identify a target population of European specialists like those populations of academic specialists on the non-western areas of the world which Lambert surveyed. There is no professional association of

"Western Europeanists", and no consensus extending across disciplinary lines on the nature--or existence--of some sort of "Western European language and area studies." Indeed, as we have suggested, scholars in many disciplines and fields whose primary interests are on Western Europe tend to be more integrated into their disciplines than those scholars whose interests focus on other areas of the world, and more likely to object to being designated as "area specialists".

It is commonly assumed that the number of scholars in the United States whose interests and research deal primarily with Western Europe is considerably greater than those whose work focuses on other areas of the world. Yet, to those who have undertaken research on Western Europe and have been involved in European studies programs, it seemed all too clear that fewer of our colleagues were currently involved in research on Western Europe than on other world areas and that support for research and training on Western Europe was significantly more limited than on other areas. Thus, the initial task in this survey was to get some better idea of the relative scale of interest in Western Europe and other areas of the world. Since it was impossible to deal with specialists, we looked for another way to determine relative levels of scholarly interest. Completed dissertations seemed to be the most useful indicator. Listings of completed dissertations were accessible and reasonably complete, and we were able to collect data over extended time periods. Although there is no absolute correlation between the areal focus of a PhD dissertation and the research interests of the mature scholar, it seemed that the two were related closely enough to enable us to utilize dissertations as reasonable indicators of levels of interest in different world areas within various disciplines. To check the

accuracy of these data, we collected similar information from mainstream academic journals. In framing the project, we limited our attention to the social sciences and history, given the nearly complete lack of contact between Western European language and literature programs and scholars in the social sciences with interests in Western Europe.

The data provide clear evidence, if not absolute proof, that the conventional wisdom about the number of scholars working on Western Europe is wrong, at least in terms of those cadres of scholars moving through the academic pipeline during the 1960s. In History alone does Western Europe continue to occupy a place of primary importance, as a distinct subfield of the discipline. When we examined other disciplines--Political Science, Economics, Anthropology, Geography, and Sociology--we found no more dissertations (or journal articles) on Western Europe than on other areas of the world. By the early 1960s, when the dissertations we examined were initiated, Western Europe had ceased to dominate international and comparative studies in the social sciences and other areas of the world were each producing as many dissertations as Western Europe.

Our findings are not difficult to explain. Enormous efforts were made in the 1950s and '60s to create a new "international dimension" in American higher education. The object of these efforts was not only to heighten the international character of the educational system, but to redirect interests and resources from Western Europe into other areas of the world. International has inevitably referred to the rest of the world outside of North America, except for Western Europe. The development of new resources to encourage and support this new international dimension embodied these commitments. Western Europe had dominated the Fulbright-Hays Program, particularly

in its early years, but the new programs to support overseas research and training and the development of campus area studies programs which were created within the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, the Foreign Area Fellowship Program, and the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education all ignored or excluded Western Europe. By the early 1960s, when faculty, and graduate students in particular, were being vigorously recruited into expanding non-western area studies programs, almost no resources were available to support similar interests in Western Europe. It was this realization, that resources were not available to support training and research on Western Europe, at a time when Europe was once again becoming a major world power, that led in the second half of the 1960s to initial efforts to stimulate more interest in Western Europe.

Why has the conventional view of European studies been so much in error? One reason is that it has equated the continued presence of basic resources which bear on Western Europe in our academic communities with the existence of research and training priorities focussing on Western Europe. In other words, it has mistaken the European background of our educational system for research and commitment at the frontiers of knowledge. Partly, of course, this was because the continued existence of Western European language and literature and Western European history programs obscured the extent to which there had been a shift in social science research priorities from Europe to the non-western world.

To a certain extent, the conventional wisdom is correct. There are more resources dealing with Western Europe in our colleges and universities than with any other area of the world. It would be difficult to find any institution of higher learning without some sort of Western European language

and literature program, with no courses on European history, and without broad interests throughout the arts, humanities, and even social sciences in some aspects of Western European society. The problem has been, however, that these resources or activities have not been related to each other in ways that can be directed or mobilized to accomplish new goals. Resources are locked into traditional, narrow disciplinary and departmental structures, and the lack of common interests have made cooperation and coordination nearly impossible.

Modern European language and literature programs, for example, are generally larger and better developed than programs on non-western languages and literature. But relationships between these programs and social scientists interested in Western Europe have been almost non-existent, unlike the area studies programs in which the relationship between area studies and language training has been a core principle of organization. The result is that while these departments and programs develop and realize disciplinary goals, students are not usually encouraged or assisted to gain a broader perspective on Western Europe. Graduate students in European language and literature programs do not normally take courses on European politics and society in the social science departments. One of the most discouraging recent trends is the tendency for European language and literature departments at universities where there are first-rate social scientists working on Europe to set up French or German "studies programs" within the language and literature departments rather than to encourage the students to cross disciplinary and departmental boundaries. By the same token, it is frequently easier for a graduate student in Political Science, for example, who wants to do dissertation research in Japan or Poland to gain access to relevant language training than for a student who wants to work on Italy or

even on France. By and large European language and literature departments have not been prepared to offer this type of training, which is far removed from their own disciplinary concerns. Because many traditional undergraduate and often even graduate language requirements have been abolished and because European language departments have their own disciplinary commitments to fulfill, students increasingly have neither general exposure to European languages nor access to facilities designed to provide specialized training--other, that is, than crash reading courses which help graduate students stagger over remaining language requirements.

The situation with regard to library resources, as Erwin Welsch observes, is similar. There are far more volumes in almost any library on or from Western Europe than any other area of the world. But there is much more coordination among librarians and area specialists who work on Eastern Europe, East Asia and Latin America--coordination at both the campus and national levels. The result is that research libraries have kept up more successfully with the research interests and needs of scholars and students working on these areas than on Western Europe--where the gap between library collections and research frontiers continues to widen. And, as Welsch complains, the existence of such a large total quantity of Western European materials in these libraries makes it almost impossible for many librarians to admit that any problem could exist in this area.

The existence of these general resources, no matter how extensive, does not in itself provide the base for a concerted strategy to increase our knowledge of Western Europe. The predominant characteristics of each of these resources has been mutual isolation and insulation. The interests of

modern European language programs, of historians working on Western Europe, of major research libraries with vast Western European holdings, and of political scientists, sociologists, and other social scientists undertaking research on Western Europe have rarely coincided. With significantly fewer resources, the non-western area studies programs have been much more successful at creating institutions and structures which support coordinated research, training, and resource building efforts. We do not mean to suggest that there should be some sort of general mobilization--a levée en masse of scholars interested in Western Europe. What we do need, however, are continuing efforts to break out of narrow spaces, to engage in dialogues across disciplinary and institutional boundaries, and to create a range of organizations and institutions which can develop common sets of interests and goals.

We have seen how the rise of interest in the non-western world was a response to several factors, including post-war changes in the international political situation, corresponding changes in our country's national interests, and new developments in the theory and methodology of the social sciences. We have emphasized how effective this movement was in reordering research perspectives and in shifting scholarly interests and resources away from Western Europe. Initially, the European background of American higher education remained in tact, although it ceased in many fields, particularly the social sciences, to be vitalized by new research. More recently, even though the frontiers of research have shifted back towards Western Europe to a certain extent, we have begun to see the erosion of the European background in American higher education, as the impact of the massive commitment of resources to the study of the non-western world radiates out through the educational system.

The response to this situation by scholars with research interests in Western Europe was, as we have observed, frequently deeply ambivalent. On the one hand, they sought to encourage a greater concern with contemporary European society and to stimulate new research, particularly on the great changes taking place in contemporary European society. And yet, on the other hand, they were unprepared to participate in what they considered a new area studies enterprise. By the end of the 1960s, the area vs. discipline debate had reached a peak throughout the social sciences, and a substantial proportion of those scholars who worked primarily on Western Europe were also strongly identified with the disciplinary point of view. (It is interesting to note that most of the "founding fathers" of the Council for European Studies were included in James Rosenau's sample of well known "disciplinary generalists."[2])

It is not our intention to enter this debate which has by now ceased to have much meaning. The conclusions we draw from our study are simply that there are important reasons to encourage greater scholarly interest in Western Europe and, if this is to be accomplished, then some form or forms of organized effort among scholars will be required. The experience of the past twenty years shows clearly that the "traditional Eurocentric character" of American education is not sufficient in itself to ensure that students and more senior scholars will develop interests in Western Europe, that our knowledge of this area will increase, or that the European experience will serve as the basis for further conceptual development in our disciplines. Besides, the Eurocentric character of our educational system is diminishing rapidly. Concerted efforts are required to

accomplish these goals--to identify and recruit students with interests in Western Europe; to provide scholars at all levels with specialized skills, particularly in European languages; to collect and diseminate information about research, research opportunities, and research resources; to influence foundations, governmental agencies and other sources of funds to make money available to support various scholarly enterprises dealing with Western Europe; to develop cooperative and collaborative arrangements with European scholars; and to mobilize resources on a trans-institutional and trans-national scale. Unless these basic tasks are undertaken, levels of scholarly putput on Western Euorpe will continue to be low, and the quality of our work--in teaching as well as research--will diminish.

The reasons for encouraging greater interest among scholars in Western Europe, or the rationales for organizing efforts to support these interests, are numerous. Many transcend an area focus and link Western Europe and other areas of the world by means of major themes. Europe provides the most important laboratory for studying the issues which are of primary concern to the non-western nations--the processes of modernization and nation-building, of institutionalization and democratization, and of the balance between economic and social change and political stability. Western Europe's past is relevant to all of the problems raised in the study of modernization. Its present situation is equally relevant to those problems associated with highly developed societies, and with the future development of "advanced industrial" or "post-industrial" society. These sets of related issues--"modernization" and "modernity"--provide the most dramatic and far-reaching theoretical rationales for a "return to Europe."

In our concern for confronting problems which transcend national and area boundaries and for further refining our conceptual skills, another implication of our study must not be overlooked. Conceptualization and theory building must rest upon a sufficient base of accurate data. If the indications of our study are correct, it is true that much work must be undertaken at this level too. Research on Western Europe has been heavily concentrated on a few major countries and, within them, on a very limited number of lines of inquiry. While it is true that in most Western European nations the level of social science development is much higher than anywhere else outside of North America, contacts between American and European social scientists remain limited to small groups or centers within only a few countries.

The Netherlands, for example, is an enlightening case. It has very great relevance to the concerns of many social scientists, in terms of modernization, economic development, of nation-building within a divided society, and of more recent efforts to develop policies and institutions dealing with economic management, planning and the control of incomes. Several Dutch social scientists are well known in the United States, and a few Americans have undertaken research there. But, in the entire recent period covered by our survey, we were able to identify only two dissertations in Political Science on the Netherlands and not one in History which dealt with the country since 1914. We can assume that if we had been able to examine all of the social science research completed during this period, we would have discovered more on the Netherlands--although a quick review of the abstracts of the more than 500 papers presented at the 1969 and 1970

annual meetings of the American Political Science Association reveals not a single one dealing with the Netherlands. How many American social scientists can read, let alone speak or write, Dutch? And yet, because of scholars like Hans Daadler, Val Lorwin, and Arend Lijpart, the Netherlands is relatively well known among the smaller nations of Europe. American social science has even less contact with Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway or Austria, and not much more with countries such as Spain and Sweden, although from the point of view of problems of social change and the transition from authoritarianism in a country undergoing a relatively late industrialization on one hand, and of the development of new economic and social responses to the problems of high industrialization on the other, these two countries should be of enormous interest to American scholars. Yet, we discover only 5 dissertations in Political Science on Spain and 6 on Sweden completed during the 7 years we surveyed, and only 4 more on Spain and 1 on Sweden in the twentieth century in History.

The point is simply that there are many--and different--reasons for encouraging more academic interest on Western Europe. They range from the need to generate more descriptive and historical information around main themes to the need to bring the Western European experience to bear upon problems of world-wide import. We need new case studies of decision-making in Western European political systems as well as efforts to develop and test new thecretical frameworks with which to explore issues such as social change and modernization. Yet all of this demands--not total mobilization--but a degree of concerted and organized effort among scholars from different institutions, disciplines and backgrounds that has been characteristically rare among scholars whose interests focus on Western Europe.

II

Several colleagues active in non-western area studies programs with whom I discussed this project observed that one of the most important differences between themselves and those of us whose interests focus on Western Europe was that they tended to think of area studies primarily in terms of a configuration of programs while we thought almost exclusively in terms of individual research. The basic organizing principle of non-western language and area studies has been the training of area specialists, but the notion of area specialization has not been widely accepted among scholars who work on Western Europe and training activities carried on by European studies programs have normally been limited to preparation for dissertation research. I have not meant in this review to criticize this characteristic research orientation, but rather simply to urge that if the range of scholarly interests in Western Europe is to expand and the quality of research improve, then considerably more attention must be given to development of programs which support these efforts.

We must create programs, in the first place, which will help overcome the isolation of different approaches to the study of Western Europe and the resources which serve these efforts. This means, firstly, that we must design programs which stimulate interchange and cooperation among those scholars with more traditional interests in Western Europe, whose approaches are based upon the philosophical and literary traditions of inquiry which have dominated most work on Europe in the past, and those scholars whose work grows out of the conceptual and methodological innovation of the last decade that has been developed mainly in research on the United States and the non-western world. Our aim must be to build bridges

between these approaches and thus to break down some of the disciplinary and departmental autonomy which has been so typical in European studies. What this means, secondly, is that in a broader sense we must attempt to develop useful cooperative linkages between interests in Western Europe in the humanities and the social sciences. In particular we must seek to discover ways in which social scientists can learn to better utilize the resources and skills of the humanities to improve their own research as social scientists.

How can we begin to accomplish these goals? To start, the conception of the research process will have to be expanded. Resources must be made available to support other activities, in addition to the collection of data, such as the design of research projects and the evaluation of their feasibility, the acquisition of skills, and the facilitation of contacts among a wider group of scholars with interests in Western Europe. Scholars who undertake international, comparative and thematic research, particularly those who have not in the past developed special expertise on Western Europe. must have the opportunity (and must be encouraged) to acquire the skills and information that provide the context for research. Researchers must be given the opportunity to acquire basic familiarity with the area in which they will be working before the collection of data begins. Research grants should include funds for the pretesting of research designs and for initial exploratory visits to the research sites. Every effort should be made to develop new structures for Western European language training, geared especially to the needs of researchers, and scholars should normally be discouraged from undertaking research abroad without language abilities appropriate to the research task. Finally, the researcher whose interests transcend areas and focus on wider themes or

problems should be strongly encouraged to develop cooperative links with those scholars whose research interests focus more directly on Western European history, society, and politics. Once again, research awards must take cognizance of the need to provide resources to facilitate such exchange and mutual education among scholars whose backgrounds differ but who share certain broad interests. It is not necessary to encourage interdisciplinary research, but rather to make it possible for researchers from one discipline to benefit from exposure to different perspectives. The historian and economist interested in the same broad area or theme will do their work differently after having questioned one another. There is multidisciplinary illumination!

We must continue to develop and expand programs, in the second place, to improve the quality of training on Western Europe, particularly at the graduate level. Support for dissertation research in Western Europe, especially for the social sciences, has lagged substantially behind that available for other world areas. Between 1952 and 1972, the Foreign Area Fellowship program, for example, awarded more than 450 grants for dissertation research on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, almost 350 grants for dissertation research on East Asia, and more than 300 grants for dissertations on Africa. More than 200 awards were made to support dissertation research in Latin America and almost 200 for the Near East and for Southeast Asia. But only 101 awards were made to support dissertation research on Western Europe.[3] The expansion of dissertation support is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the improvement of graduate student training on Western Europe, however. Students must have adequate backgrounds on Western Europe, appropriate skills, and a clearly designed and feasible dissertation topic if overseas opportunities for dissertation research are to be truly useful.

The quality of the dissertation experience can be substantially improved through field experience at the immediate pre-dissertation stage in graduate training. Pre-dissertation programs should provide the opportunity for students to become familiar with Western Europe, to explore sources of data, improve language and other skills, test research designs and to develop relationships with European scholars and institutions.[4]

We must continue to experiment as well with a variety of new training programs, including new Western European language training programs, short term intensive seminars or training workshops which create a "critical mass" of students from different disciplines and institutions and more senior American and European faculty, and with longer term summer institutes in which students whose graduate training has emphasized the methodological and macroanalytical aspects of our fields can have intensive access to the more traditional historical and cultural approaches to Western European studies.

Graduate training programs are particularly valuable when they provide the opportunity for graduate students to gain access to the frontiers of research in their fields and disciplines, and to become associated with the research efforts of more senior scholars. A recent review of a major program of foreign area dissertation support concludes:

> One final observation is prompted by this review. Ph.D. theses, by their nature, are usually lone projects, individually conceived and executed by students with such advice as they can muster. The student's immediate purpose is to demonstrate his own professional qualifications for the degree, which necessitates a large measure of individual responsibility for the enterprise.
>
> The field projects under discussion here are no exception. Rarely do they grow out of collaborative schemes. Nor, in the field, do they often develop into team projects in close association with the work of other scholars, Asian or Western. Fellows are mostly on their own--want to be on their own--responsible to

> themselves as their whole educational tradition has taught them to be. If one plots them on the map of Asia, they are dots spread across an immense area and subject matter, with no relation to each other unless by sheer coincidence. Nor does their work usually integrate them into other local projects of a collaborative nature. "Lonely little dunghills of knowledge" forming on the landscape, someone calls them. Mainly this is inherent in the pattern, or lack of pattern, of a fellowship program of this nature. It is not a coherent focused research plan. Its purpose is quite different, its justifications more diffuse, and longer-term.
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> Accepting this proposition, one may still wish that the work of FAFP Fellows could be tied more directly into significant institutional development, team research projects, and working parties heading up principal research centers of Asia.[5]

Every effort must be made to bridge the gap between training and research, and to enable graduate students at the pre-dissertation stage of their training and in their dissertation research to develop close working relationships with the research efforts of their more senior colleagues. Major research support programs, like the Ford Foundation's Common Problem research program, can make resources available to permit graduate students to take part in research projects. Organizers of conferences and seminars should also be encouraged to invite graduate students whose future research interests might be substantially influenced by this exposure.

Another question involves the extent to which graduate students should be encouraged to develop dissertations on particular themes or topics. In an important think-piece memorandum circulated recently among individuals who had taken part in the Western European Foreign Area Fellowship Program, a leading American scholar who has worked extensively on Western Europe observed, "We must come away from an open-ended fellowship program and exercise some judgment regarding what kinds of doctoral candidates we wish to encourage and discourage." "We are already doing this anyway," he continued, "when we judge the narrowness or broadness, the 'contemporary

relevance' of proposals accompanying FAFP applications." He urged that a sizable percentage of funds in the program be allocated to support dissertation research on certain designated themes. "We should encourage graduate students to go to work on these problems. Indeed, it seems to be that this is exactly what many of our students themselves are demanding."[6]

Our concern to improve the quality of training cannot, however, begin with the student who has reached the final stages of his graduate training. We must become increasingly concerned with the wider issues of education and teaching on Western Europe at the graduate and at the undergraduate levels. It is clear that although the number of graduate students in the social sciences who wish to do dissertations dealing with Western Europe has increased in recent years, the level of their preparation in terms of background on Western Europe--including basic European history and language skills--has declined significantly. This merely reflects the elimination of many traditional undergraduate requirements such as foreign languages (most frequently a Western European language) and western culture or world (i.e., European) history courses. At the graduate level, too, language requirements have been widely eliminated and the Western European content in many courses (for example, in basic courses on comparative government or politics) has diminished.

The value of many of these reforms and innovations is not to be disputed, but they raise many problems for scholars interested in Western European society and politics. It is no longer sufficient to wait for students to emerge at the dissertation stage of their graduate training to begin preparation for original research on Western Europe. We must attempt to interest students at earlier stages of their education, to

identify those most likely to develop future interests on Western Europe, and to encourage and assist them in gaining the skills and background which will support their research. Scholars interested in Western Europe and European studies programs must, therefore, begin to devote much more attention to the quality of teaching on European topics, and a whole range of new efforts must be made to improve teaching, to develop new courses and to stimulate innovative instructional methods. Among many other tasks at this level, we must also attempt to make better use of some of the many undergraduate study abroad programs which now operate in Western Europe to begin to prepare students for eventual scholarly work in the area.

Thirdly, we must create new programs to confront several major problems which continue to inhibit efforts to expand and improve the quality of European studies in the United States. Two of these problems which have been discussed in this report are language training and library resources. Major new efforts will have to be made to deal with the problem of providing language training programs particularly for social scientists who work on European topics. Basic language abilities remain essential to good research and yet, as we have seen, the acquisition of satisfactory language skills is still frequently the major hurdle students face in undertaking research in Western Europe. The limited survey which we made showed clearly the inadequacy of most existing language training facilities and programs--particularly those which have been available to graduate students in the social sciences.[7] The problems of library resources is made still worse by the failure of many librarians in our great university libraries to agree on the nature of the problem. As Erwin Welsch has pointed out. scholars who work on Western Europe and those responsible for maintaining

and developing Western European collections have clearly lost touch with one another. Here, the example set by many of the non-western area studies programs, particularly on the national level, is highly relevant. Similar efforts must be made to bring scholars and librarians interested in Europe together at the highest level, to renew the processes of cooperation upon which great academic library collections must ultimately rest.

In the fourth place, we must create programs which produce a better balance between American and European scholars in all of our activities. American students and more senior scholars who are undertaking research in Western Europe must be accessible to European colleagues and willing to take part in scholarly activities overseas. They should offer and be willing to make themselves available for lectures and teaching, insofar as these activities do not interfere with their main research activities. Graduate students doing research in Western Europe should be strongly encouraged to develop relationships with more senior scholars who share their interests in the country they are visiting. Formal affiliation with European institutions may or may not be useful or practical in individual cases, but some form of association with appropriate institutions often has high pay-offs on both sides. Where possible, the more senior American researcher should attempt to involve European graduate students in his research projects. European scholars should be informed of the research that is being undertaken by Americans in their countries and research fields, and visiting American scholars must be strongly encouraged to share with European colleagues the data they have collected and their research findings. We must also attempt to make it much easier for Europeans, and particularly younger scholars, to spend time in the United States for

training purposes, for teaching, and for their own research. Better provisions must be made for European scholars to carry on their own research here, and not be forced to identify themselves solely as European specialists. Increasingly, the limiting factor to our abilities to conduct research in Western Europe and to send a larger number of students there for training purposes will be our success in stimulating a "reverse flow" of Europeans here.

One way of stimulating this reverse flow of Europeans to the United States is through the exchange of faculty among universities. Most existing programs of lecturing or teaching abroad are essentially unilateral. In the long run, however, efforts to develop faculty exchanges on a bilateral base, or multilaterally--among several institutions in different countries--are likely to have the most value for the individual participants and for the institutions involved. One such program involved a yearly exchange of faculty numbers of the Political Science Departments of the University of Wisconsin and Essex University in England. Over several years, the impact of the program was quite impressive: the research interests of all participants were expanded significantly, and several cooperative research projects were initiated. American and British scholars, whose interests had been limited to their own political systems, developed new comparative perspectives. Finally, the visits could be monitored by the universities and credit given for the teaching experience.[8]

The most effective way to stimulate wider interests in Western Europe among American social scientists and international collaboration is to encourage research projects which involve the participation of scholars from different countries who share research interests. Here, they cooperate

as individuals who consider that their interests in the study of important phenomena may be advanced through communication, intellectual interchange and publication, and shared research. The success of these enterprises rests on several basic requirements. First, a substantial infrastructure must support initial tentative efforts to develop such collaboration. Funds must be made available to cover what may well be substantial costs of gearing up such projects, and funding agencies must be prepared to understand that not every effort will succeed and that a certain portion of the "venture capital" invested in these projects will not return high dividends. Secondly, a climate of mutual interest and trust must be created, and doing this may well involve substantial alterations in the way in which decisions about research and the allocation of research funds have frequently been carried on in the past in this country. It is useful to quote at some length from the most recent report of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies on these matters:

> These developments offer grounds for reconsidering the concept, developed during World War II, of "Area studies" as research on a foreign area by U.S. scholars for policy purposes. With respect to Latin America, we now think less of a foreign area and more of social phenomena; less of U.S. policy purposes and more of policy purposes of Latin American institutions; less of research by U.S. scholars and more of collaboration by scholars from various countries who are concerned with interesting intellectual problems related to social or cultural subjects.
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> We venture to say that the record of JCLAS and NFC since 1962, and especially during the expanded activities of the past two years, has created confidence on the part of a substantial number of Latin American and other scholars in the committee's scholarly integrity and independence, as well as a ready willingness by them to participate in competitive or commissioned research activities sponsored by JCLAS. Such confidence takes time to engender; its maintenance requires close communication and frank exchange of information with Latin American scholars. Their

> continued participation is imperative in the decisions concerning allocations of funds made available for their administration in annual grants to the Councils by the Ford Foundation or other private sources of funds.[9]

Clearly, this must be our goal as well. The more advanced level of the social sciences in Western Europe makes the task all the more vital and its accomplishment still more rewarding, and yet even more difficult to carry out. Although some American scholars have developed very high standing in these communities and several American institutions and organizations are well respected and trusted by European scholars, the recent tendency has been for the social science communities of America and Western Europe to drift even further apart.

Finally, we must create programs which enable scholars involved in European studies to play more active and responsible parts in a nation-wide "international and area studies community." Differences between European studies and more traditional non-western language and area studies have frequently been underlined in this report. In concluding, however, it is important to focus our attention upon certain basic similarities and common interests shared by all of these programs. We share, for example, the very basic goals of maintaining international concerns and commitments in our colleges and universities, and in encouraging wider international interests and understanding throughout the educational system in this country and among the population at large. We share interests in preserving the infrastructure of national and campus programs which support research and training on international topics, and in searching for new priorities and directions for international and area studies in a period of great flux in our universities and, in particular,

at a moment when the resources which have supported these activities in the past are contracting severely. Thus, our final recommendations are made in this spirit.

The various institutions and organizations and the less formalized groups that have evolved over the past decade to generate advice and recommendations to public and private policy-making and funding bodies on behalf of non-western studies must be redesigned to include European studies. Actually, this process is already underway. Since 1970, there has been for the first time an organization, the Council for European Studies, that can speak in a representative fashion for European studies in this country, and the Council has in fact been invited to take part in many of these activities. Perhaps more importantly, however, there has been a growing recognition within the older area studies movements of the need to develop new programs, activities and goals appropriate both to their own maturity and to a more austere environment. As Lambert suggests, we are beginning to see a thinning down of the number of campus programs and increased concern for specialization and interinstitutional cooperation; a lessened commitment to the training of area specialists and more efforts to ensure that individual competencies are developed and maintained; and a growing interest in transarea thematic and problem-oriented research, particularly through various forms of international research collaboration.[10] The range of potential cooperative enterprises is expanding enormously.

Quite simply, it is now necessary on the one side to stop beating the old dead horse of the "Eurocentric character of American higher education." We cannot alter the fact that we live within Western culture, although we can--and must--become more sensitive to the rest of the world

as well, and to be aware of the great differences that exist among world societies. The data we have collected clearly reveal the enormous impact non-western area studies have had on our educational system. In most universities, Western Europe is no longer the "have" in a universe of non-western "have-nots." On the other side, we must stop thinking of area studies as some sort of betrayal of disciplinary responsibilities and commitments, and instead begin to deal with the vast resources which have been created through these programs. The task which we all face now is to explore the various relationships between comparative, problem oriented, and trans-area research priorities on the one hand and area- (or nation-) specific skills on the other.

More specifically, we must all join together to press for new federal legislation on international education, particularly to ensure that funds will be available in the future to support the new "large multi-purpose centers" which Lambert describes in his Survey. We must also seek to have the Fulbright Hays Program expanded and updated.[11] Finally, we must all continue our efforts to urge private foundations to continue their involvement in international education, training and research efforts.

It appears that the jerry-built structure which has supported international educational and area studies programs during the past twenty years is finally about to collapse. It is no longer a question of either extending once again the weary NDEA legislation nor of attempting still one more time to revive the moribund International Education Act. Although the possibility that the federal role in international education will end completely has, if anything, increased in recent months, it is still, I believe, more likely that we will have the opportunity to create new programs and policies for

international education for the next decade, or even longer. European studies, if it is to survive, must be a part of this, and scholars whose interests deal with Western Europe must now be prepared to accept new responsibilities in this effort.

It has been difficult to describe European studies, as we have noted, because scholars interested in Western Europe have thought predominantly in terms of individual research rather than the development of programs. The recommendations which have been made in this report deal primarily with programs, but they are not meant to alter the basic research orientation of European studies. Rather, they are meant to serve it, to create an infrastructure that will not dominate European studies but rather will facilitate the very best possible research efforts. This, of course, is what the Council for European Studies has tried to do during the past four years, and it is with some pride that I point to the evidence of what can be accomplished in this way.

Footnotes, Chapter VI

1. Lambert, Richard, Language and Area Studies Review, Monograph 17 of The American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 366-367.
2. Rosenau, James, International Studies and the Social Sciences (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1973).
3. Directory, Foreign Area Fellows 1952-1972 (New York: SSRC, 1973), pages not numbered.
4. Pre-dissertation grants were offered on an experimental basis by the Western European programs at the University of Michigan and Harvard University in the late 1960s. With the formation of the Council for European Studies, a national pre-dissertation fellowship competition was initiated.
5. Lockwood, William, The Foreign Area Fellowship Program in Asia: An Evaluation and Recommendation (New York: SSRC, 1972), p. 22.
6. Memorandum circulated by Joseph LaPalombara, March 1971, "Belling the Tiger."
7. A new German language training program specifically for social scientists was created by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, in cooperation with the Deutscher Akademischer Austausdidienst and the Council for European Studies, in the summer of 1974.
8. See Masters, Roger, "Toward Improved Franco-American University Exchanges", International Cultural and Educational Exchange, Winter, 1972.
9. SSRC/ACLS, Latin America and the Caribbean, Annual Report 1972-73 (New York: SSRC, 1973), pp. 4-5.

10. Lambert, Language and Area Studies Review, op. cit., Chap. IX. See also the unpublished task force reports submitted to the American Council on Education's International Education Project, Spring 1974.

11. Lambert, op.cit., pp. 402-405. See also the Task Force report on "Overseas Professional Skills Reinforcement" submitted to the International Education Project of the American Council on Education, Spring, 1974.